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Criteria for Classifying Hand-Printed Books as Issues and Variant States

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NO problem offers more traps for the bibliographer than the classification of books by edition, impression, issue, and state. Properly, these should be technical identifying terms conveying a definite meaning; moreover, these terms —for all except the difficult borderline cases—should be capable of fairly automatic yet meaningful application on positive concrete evidence so that there will be consistency of usage. In fact, this state of affairs only partly exists for hand-printed books of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, although there is considerably less divergence of opinion in this field than occurs with present-day books. Since the accurate and precise transmission of bibliographical meaning is involved in the correct use of classifying terms, and since cross-reference between bibliographies is quite confused if classification is not made according to uniform principles, there is every reason to re-examine these terms with a view to determining their basic meaning for early books. Classification of books in the nineteenth and twenti-

eth centuries does not come within the province of this article; however, some light may be shed on various problems in this later period if a firmer foundation can be established for the preceding era.

In view of the importance of the subject, it is rather curious that very little has been written to investigate the principles of bibliographical classification. Instead, from the practice of bibliographers over the course of years, a loose system has gradually developed—rather like common law—which has been taken for granted and only incompletely codified for the student. One reason for the looseness of the system is that the different standards and requirements of cataloguing and of descriptive bibliography have not been clearly differentiated although in truth a wide gulf stretches between them.

Many catalogues of the check-list variety are necessarily made up from second-hand sources of information, such as library entries, without examination of the books themselves. A descriptive bibliography is written only after careful comparison of a number of copies of the books concerned. Hence, for the catalogue it is perhaps necessary to list any book with a variant imprint, or with a difference in the makeup of the preliminaries, as a separate "issue."[1] However, this uncritical procedure will scarcely satisfy the descriptive bibliographer, who will wish to enquire whether the variant imprint results from a simple press-alteration made during the course of machining the original title-gathering, or whether it is contained in a cancellans title-leaf substituted for the original. Under most circumstances a bibliographer would classify the first case as a *state* (*i.e.*, a variant), and the second as an *issue*. These important bibliographical distinctions cannot ordinarily be made in a catalogue; hence two sets of standards arise to plague those readers who are conscious of the discrepancy. And, as a re-

[1] We may, I think, quite remove from our minds the terminology used in some booksellers' catalogues, where commercial considerations often lead to puffing up any variant (even of a press-altered catchword, as in Spenser's *Prothalamium* [1596]), by the magic word "issue."

sult, the practice of the writers of bibliographies is not always uniform. Many rest content with cataloguing standards. Some advanced bibliographers, as in W. W. Greg's *English Printed Drama to the Restoration*, F. R. Johnson's *Edmund Spenser*, and W. A. Jackson's Pforzheimer Catalogue, endeavor to take a properly bibliographical view, and on bibliographical evidence (the investigation of the book as a material object by the techniques of analytical bibliography) try to assign a book to its proper and meaningful category. Hence, although to a cataloguer most variants within an edition type-setting are lumped together as "issues" of an edition, a bibliographer of hand-printed books distinguishes *issues* and *states*, and in some rare cases possibly *impressions*.

In this discussion I shall concern myself exclusively with descriptive bibliography, not with reference catalogues and their necessarily elementary standards. Moreover, because of limitations of space I shall deal only with the problems of *issue* and *state*. It is this distinction which is the most troublesome for the problems involved. Finally, I am chiefly concerned with examining the possible weaknesses and inconsistencies of the present loose standards of differentiation and then with advancing certain principles which in my opinion most effectively solve the central problem. It will be impossible here to set up a complete and detailed system for dealing with every contingency, but I hope that the principles evolved will serve to point the way to the solution of the numerous specific difficulties which confront the bibliographer.[2]

Very much in general, temporality has ordinarily been taken as the most important factor in a decision between issue and state. Alterations made before public sale began have been classified as *states*; alterations made after public sale have been listed as *issues*. In this sense, *issue* has customarily been limited to a strict sense of

[2] A detailed system is set up in my *Principles of Bibliographical Description* to be published by the Princeton University Press in the fall of 1948. In the present discussion I am concentrating on the objections to the traditional system of classification, a matter which will be largely omitted in my monograph.

re-issue, with two major criteria: (1) the form of the book must still be mainly composed of the original sheets; (2) the altered copies must have been put on the market as a unit, consistent in their form except for normal press-variants in the text, at a date later than the sale of copies of the earlier issue.

McKerrow's brief consideration of re-issue offers the best analysis available in print, and its main outline is completely sound in spite of a loophole or two and some surface ambiguities. Four major occasions of re-issue are recognized: In order to indicate a change in the publishing arrangements, as when in 1578 Christopher Barker, on being appointed Queen's Printer, was ordered to supply new endings and titles for books printed by the former Queen's Printer . . . ; or (2) in order to add new preliminary matter, as in the case of the re-issue of Thomas Nashe's *Christs Tears over Jerusalem*, 1593, with a long new preface in 1594; (3) in order to make an old book appear a new one, as in the case of Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis*, 1589, the sheets of which were re-issued in 1610 with a new title as *A Moste Pleasant Historie of Glaucus and Scilla*; or (4) in order to make some correction or alteration in the preliminary matter which was thought desirable, as in the well-known case of the second issue of *Troilus and Cressida*.[3]

In connection with these four classes of re-issue, one should notice that (1) involves cancellans titles and is not suited for press-altered imprints; in addition, (3) coincides with a principle greatly emphasized by McKerrow that the commonest form of re-issue is that intended to give new life to old sheets. The distinction between (2) and (4) is slightly ambiguous in view of his important earlier remark (p. 176) that ordinarily addition to the preliminaries is insufficient to cause re-issue without change in the title, but the situation is clarified when we see that both illustrations also involve a cancellans title-page accompanying added preliminaries in (2) or altered preliminaries as in (4), and thus

[3] Ronald B. McKerrow, *An Introduction to Bibliography for Literary Students* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1927), p. 177.

the two classes differentiate themselves from books where additions or alterations are made without affecting the title-page.

I shall revert later to the importance of this distinction which, I think, was not seen sufficiently clearly by McKerrow and which has been neglected by his readers. For example, in elaborating (4) he adds

> In this last group it is often questionable whether we ought to regard those copies with altered preliminary matter as a separate "issue" or to consider the new matter merely as a cancel. Which we do should depend on whether the main intention seems to be to *correct* something (in which case it is a cancel) or to give new life to the old sheets (in which case it is a reissue).

This statement sets up a criterion of some moment. Attempts to *correct* the form of an edition are states, not issues; alterations or additions which attempt to *give new life to old sheets* are re-issues. Thus (4) and, in effect, (2) are brought under the principle of (3), and two major classes of re-issue result: (a) alterations in the publishing arrangements as indicated by a cancellans title-page; (b) alterations or additions to the preliminaries not for the purposes of correction but to assist in stimulating the sale of old sheets presumably by enhancing the attractiveness of the book. The second class (b) is not specifically associated with a cancellans title-page (or title-gathering), but I think we must assume that this additional requirement was present in McKerrow's mind: both illustrations contain this cancellans and on the preceding page he states, "The mere addition of new matter *without* a new title-page, especially if the addition only consists of a dedication or an epistle to the reader, is not generally regarded as constituting a new issue."

It will be recognized that McKerrow's views, at least as I think they are to be interpreted in the light of his whole discussion, introduce other considerations than simple temporality. McKerrow, of course, recognizes that a re-issue must be separated in point of time from the form of the earlier issue, and all his examples very properly concern re-issues made after initial publication. A book

can scarcely be re-issued before it is issued. But McKerrow sets up a meaningful interpretation of re-issue which accepts only certain temporal alterations and discards others, specifically alterations in the preliminaries which are intended to correct, not to give new life to old sheets, and also simple addition to the preliminaries (and perhaps elsewhere) unaccompanied by an altered title-page. Both exceptions hinge on the principle, as I see it, that the correction of something amiss or the addition of minor new matter would be insufficient evidence of an attempt to give new life to old sheets by a true publishing effort which could be called a *re-issue.*

Here I may state that I am in perfect agreement with McKerrow's main position, but that I think two points need to be emphasized for later consideration. First, if a bibliographer is to make a distinction between issue and state solely on his estimate of the publisher's intentions in altering or adding material within a hand-printed book, he will very shortly become involved in such subjective literary criticism of the nature of the contents that he ceases to be a bibliographer and there could be no uniformity of decision between different scholars. McKerrow himself, one should notice, is rather uneasy about the classification of *Troilus and Cressida* in his fourth category, since a decision is difficult, according to his standards, whether the altered preface is a correction or an attempt to rejuvenate sale by a re-issue.[4] Second, except for the case of a lengthy addition or continuation appended to unsold old sheets, which he would label "a new issue with additional matter," McKerrow is silent except by implication about alterations or additions within the body of the book and not associated with the preliminaries. It is especially unfortunate that he did not deal with these in some detail, for they are certainly as

[4] Indeed, the fact that some standing-type from the original title was utilized in the title to the second form of the book would rather militate against the view that sufficient time had elapsed to warrant an attempt to stimulate sale; hence, if this criterion alone were concerned, there is a better (though false) argument against than for re-issue. [Cf. Studies in Bibliography, 2 [1949-50], p. 25.]

common as alterations in the preliminaries, and the variation in their treatment has given rise to a most loose classification.

Moreover, many bibliographers—perhaps conscious of the difficulty mentioned above in his manner of treating re-issue—have by no means consistently followed his restrictions stated in his second and fourth categories for preliminaries as modified by his previous statement about the title-page. As a result, there has been a general tendency to treat preliminaries and text on the same level, and to attempt to distinguish issue from state for the book as a whole on the superficially simple principle that alterations or additions made before publication are states; those after publication constitute re-issues. Publisher's intention—which McKerrow took as a most important factor—is completely ignored in most cases, and a mechanical decision is made solely on the physical makeup of the book according to the temporality of its forms. On occasion, even this temporality based on the moment of first public sale is ignored, and any two differing forms of the book are listed as "issues," with complete disregard for (a) the manner of printing, which may demonstrate that both forms of the book were machined before any copy could be placed on public sale; and (b) a meaningful interpretation of re-issue or else of simultaneous issue.

This disregard of temporality—or rather its attempted projection back into the simple temporality of printing, not of sale—leads to a naïve multiplication of "simultaneous issues." The weakness revealed in this manner offers our best point of attack on the whole problem.

Any bibliographer recognizes that press-alterations in the text can constitute only variant states of the press-altered formes concerned. Press-correction in the text of hand-printed books is so common that when it is combined with indiscriminate binding of the sheets no state of the book as a whole can result, let alone separate issues. In a big book like the Shakespeare Folio, it is probably accurate to say that no two bound copies are preserved, or

ever existed, with precisely similar states of every forme of every sheet. There has been an enforced general agreement, as a consequence, that the ordinary press-corrections, and especially those affecting only a forme of a sheet in the text or preliminaries, have no connection with questions of separate issue. Thus we have been able to recognize as state, or sometimes simply as an aberration in printing or binding, all normal press-corrections, resetting or partial resetting of a forme after an accident in the course of printing, resetting to make up a full edition-sheet for an edition enlarged while on the press, or for damaged sheets in later bindings-up, alterations made by pulled and substituted type, errors in machining or in imposition, and binding errors.

Only two classes of press-variants have caused trouble: (1) press-alterations in the title and imprint; (2) press-alterations producing variant makeup. For the first, there has been fairly general agreement that press-correction of misprints in a title and of minor matters in the wording constitute only states. Some doubts might begin to arise as to whether separate "issue" was caused by the insertion or deletion in press of an author's name on the title, as in Philippe de Mornay's *Two Homilies* (1612), but in general most writers would agree, correctly, that this was still a matter of state. When press-alteration affects the imprint, however, there has been some inconsistency in bibliographical treatment. By cataloguing standards these alterations constitute "issues"; but McKerrow's great authority, followed by most bibliographers, treats these—like all pre-publication press-variants—as states. The commonest form of alteration in the imprint affects the names of the publisher, printer, or seller, and chiefly results from pre-publication allocation of copies. Books may appear published by a syndicate but with each bookseller's name found singly on the title, as in the 1632 Shakespeare Folio. Or books may appear with one form of the imprint for sale by the publishers or a specified bookseller and with another form for general sale, as in James Shirley's *The Dukes Mistress* (1638), with its imprint in

three press-altered states, one containing the name of Andrew Crooke, another William Cooke, and the third (presumably for general distribution) the names of both. A book may appear like Middleton's *Spanish Gipsie* (1661) with variant imprints listing Crofts or Kirkman as the seller accompanied by press-variant advertisements on the last page for each, but it is still only a book issued in two variant states. "Simultaneous issue" is barred by McKerrow and by Greg for these press-altered imprints which are not consistently accompanied by a consequential change in the form of the copies which would be of interest to a purchaser.

There is every reason, also, to bar from the category of re-issue (as does Greg) those books exhibiting a press-altered date on the title unaccompanied by consequential change in the makeup.[5]

The principle of temporality as applied only to post-publication sale is also violated by some writers with books (1) where changes in makeup as an integral part of the text are demonstrably made during the course of printing; and (2) where changes in makeup not directly linked to text are also produced during the printing. An example of the first is Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) in which some copies contain four inserted leaves between gatherings N and O. These are unpaged, but a gap of eight pages is left in the numbering between gatherings O and P to restore correct pagination. In copies containing the insert, the type from the lower part of $N4^{v}$ has been transferred to $\chi 4^{v}$ (the verso of

[5] Space forbids a proper discussion of this point. The general principle is that press-variants cannot constitute a re-issue. Many of these altered dates have no validity at all as indicating separate sale at different times, but instead result from a confusion between the legal and calendar year. (See especially F. R. Johnson's account of Spenser's *Muiopotmos* [1590-1591] and *Mother Hubberds Tale* [1612-1613].) In others (such as Lodge's *Scillaes Metamorphosis* [1589-1590] or James I's *Essayes of a Prentise* [1584-1585]) the date was altered only as an afterthought consequent upon stopping the press for other reasons. In no case when the two forms of the title are not consistently accompanied by altered makeup of the book, as seems to occur with two issues of Gervase Markham's *Second Book of the English Husbandman* (1614-1615), can it be demonstrated that a seller actually distinguished copies for sale according to the form of the title: for *Mother Hubberd* it can be demonstrated that no differentiation was made. Hence this particular form of press-alteration does not differ in any bibliographical respect from other pre-publication press-alterations which constitute only variant state.

the fourth of the inserted leaves) and has been replaced by the beginning of the inserted text continued on χ1. Both formes of the insert are printed with the identical running-titles used to print the inner formes of sheets N and O. We have a superfluity of evidence that the insert was printed with the body of the book and, indeed, before sheet P was imposed. Thriftily, the printer did not tear up all copies of sheet N which had been perfected before the addition was received, and hence he did not reprint a complete new edition-sheet containing the altered version of the text on N4^{v}. Instead he printed only so many copies of the insert as remained of the unperfected sheets of N, binding each group separately. These are states of the book. To call them issues is to ignore the bibliographical facts of their printing and to assume that the publisher deliberately issued each version at a different time, whereas there is no evidence to indicate anything but sale as nearly simultaneous as normal binding would produce.

The second may be illustrated by Elkanah Settle's play, *The Fairy-Queen* (1692). In one state, copies collate [A]1: title, verso blank; χ1: Prologue, verso blank. [A]2: Persons, verso blank. In another state the leaf containing the Prologue is lacking, but the Prologue in the identical type-setting is found printed on [A]2, with the type of the Persons shifted to [A]2^{v}. It is possible to demonstrate that the second form of the preliminaries resulted from a change in imposition made in press during the printing of half-sheet [A], and hence that there was no later sale, except fortuitously, of one or other form of the book.

It is not commonly recognized how examples like the above, where changes in the makeup can be proved by bibliographical evidence as occurring during the printing and before sale, merge imperceptibly into cases which are completely ambiguous in that no bibliographical evidence exists as to whether the alteration was made before or after printing of the book was completed. This brings us face to face with an essential problem. If temporality alone is to decide whether a book is a variant state or a re-issue, by

what bibliographical means can temporality be decided as applied to that single moment in time when books in one or other form are placed on sale? There is really no answer to this question, and any attempt to date printing so minutely is quite unrealistic.[6] In certain cases as the above, bibliographical evidence can be utilized to show that printing was still in progress when the alterations were made. Such bibliographical evidence is not always available; yet its absence does not automatically prove that printing had been completed.

An example or two may be of interest. In Sir William Killigrew's *Three Playes* (1663), an octavo, leaf D7 of *Selindra* is cancelled and an unsigned cancellans fold is substituted. A small amount of identical text on cancellandum and cancellans is completely reset, by which we can infer only that the type for gathering D had been distributed before the cancellans was composed and machined. The final gathering in the book, separated by two duplicated series of alphabetical signings, is gathering G of *Ormasdes* which exists with six leaves in three conjugate folds. One might suspect that the cancellans fold for *Selindra* had been printed here, but there is no bibliographical proof that it was. As a result, if one were tempted on such negative evidence to list this volume with the cancellans as a re-issue, one would eventually be proved to be in error, for by good fortune an aberrant copy is preserved in the Huntington Library with the cancellans intact as the inmost fold of gathering G. The point is that many cancellans leaves ordinarily considered as constituting re-issues come precisely in this category, but it is absurd to contend that an accurate classification must await discovery of an aberrant copy. Indeed, if there had been no blanks in gathering G, the cancellans would have been machined without evidence remaining as to its tem-

[6] Another problem would also arise, that of the relation of temporality of printing to temporality of sale—a problem which has caused great confusion in nineteenth- and twentieth-century bibliography. I am referring to a variant form of the book demonstrably printed before any copies were issued but which was not sold until a later period in the book's history.

porality. Many a cancellans or added insert is machined before publication as a separate leaf or fold and not as a part of an original sheet, in which case the bibliographical evidence is usually quite ambiguous and no aberration could reveal the truth.

We must recognize that bibliographical evidence can only rarely indicate the relation of the time of printing internal alterations to the time of publication. Because type for some pages could normally be left undistributed for a sufficient period to bind some copies and place them on sale, even the evidence that each form of a book was printed with some of the identical type-setting may not be proof positive that both forms were machined before publication. Thomas Shipman's play *Henry the Third* (1678) is an interesting example.[7] The preliminaries collate 4°: A^4 $*_*{}^2$ with the title on A1, verso blank; a dedication to the Marquis of Dorchester (dated August 30, 1678) begins A2 and ends on A3; on A3^v is a dedication to Roger L'Estrange ending on $*_*$ 1; a Prologue begins on $*_*$ 1^v and ends with an errata list appended on $*_*$ 2; finally, on $*_*2^v$ appears the Persons. In some copies a half-sheet insert signed "a" is found containing a dedicatory poem to Monmouth (dated November, 1678), with a2^v blank. In one Folger copy leaves A2-4 and $*_*$ 1 are cancelled and half-sheet a^2 is inserted after A1. This state of the half-sheet contains the identical type-setting of the dedicatory poem, but the identical type used to print the start of the Prologue originally found on $*_*$ 1^v here appears printing a2^v, formerly blank. It would seem that the dedicatory poem to Monmouth arrived late, after complete printing of the preliminaries had been accomplished and possibly even after copies had been sold, but before the type for $*_*$ 1^v had been distributed.[8] On the evidence of some copies, the

[7] I am indebted to Dr. J. G. McManaway of the Folger Shakespeare Library for this excellent illustration.

[8] The time element is quite ambiguous. It seems impossible to determine whether the type-page for the Prologue originally on $*_*$1^v was imposed in the forme as part of half-sheet a^2 after some sheets of the insert had been run off, or whether this state was even more of an afterthought and a certain number of completed half-sheets were

printer intended all three dedications to appear. On the evidence of the second state of a^2, he also intended some copies to contain only the dedicatory poem. Why the double form of the dedication was planned and whether there was actual priority of sale is too vexed a question. We have the bibliographical evidence of undistributed type to assure ourselves that this book exists only in the original issue but with three states; yet even without this evidence, the alterations would not call for classification as separate issues.

Admittedly, various cases exist where collateral evidence (but *not* bibliographical) shows that time has elapsed between the sale of two forms of a book. *A Mirrour for Magistrates* (1610) originally contained a single-leaf dedication to Prince Henry of *A Winter Nights Vision*, which was cancelled after his death and replaced by a dedication to the Earl of Nottingham. In Francis Meres's *Palladis Tamia* (1598) leaves A2-4 containing a dedication to Thomas Eliot followed by a Latin address to the reader are cancelled in some copies. In the Latin address Meres had lamented the printer's penuriousness which would not allow the printing of two tables that Meres thought necessary. The Pforzheimer Catalogue reasonably conjectures that when the printer had this sarcasm pointed out to him, he cancelled the address; and since this was printed on $A4^v$ with the dedication concluding on A4, the whole dedication had to be sacrificed as well.

But between books like these and books like Killigrew's *Three Playes* or Shipman's *Henry the Third*, or Settle's *Fairy-Queen*, there exists a large group where no true evidence obtains. No printing or collateral evidence suggests whether the cancellans leaf G7 in Thomas Carew's *Poems* (1640), which was reset to include a line omitted in error, was machined before or after publication, nor is there any suggestion about the time of machining the cancellans leaves C1 and C6 in Dryden's *Annus Mirabilis*

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run through the press again to print $a2^v$ for a final version of the preliminaries to consist of A1 a^2 $*_*^*2$, that is $A^4(-A2.3,4)$ a^2 $*_*^{*2}(-*_*^*1)$.

(1667). If books in this large category are listed as re-issues, no meaningful interpretation of the term results, for temporality cannot be proved, such classification must inevitably be contrary to the facts in many cases, and occasionally evidence is discovered which shows that a classification as re-issue is wrong. Thus any system which mechanically separates state from issue by differences in makeup present in some copies but not in others (and not demonstrably made during "continuous printing" as was the Puttenham expansion) is as likely to be wrong as to be right, and the classification becomes largely meaningless.

When bibliographical evidence is lacking, an attempt is sometimes made to escape this dilemma by an estimate, based on the number of preserved copies, as to whether the addition or substitution was probably printed before or after publication. The inference is usually made that if a fair number of copies do not contain the alteration or addition, these copies do not contain it because they were sold before the new matter was introduced. Correspondingly, if strikingly few copies of one form exist, it is felt that this fact may indicate the new matter was a pre-publication state and thus the copies without it are aberrant.

There are two fallacies in this principle. First, it is not a very practical method of classification which demands far-reaching investigation to determine a fine and conjectural point of issue versus state on relative number alone, especially when one considers the small proportion of an early edition usually preserved. According to this method, the vast majority of old books would always remain unclassified for lack of proper investigation. Second, the principle itself is not sound, because it is based on presumed collateral and not on bibliographical evidence. The omission of a pre-publication alteration from some copies could have been caused by any one or any combination of the following: (a) While copies were still being bound, but before any had been placed on sale, the insertion arrived and was printed, but the printer saved himself trouble by adding it only to the unbound sheets. (b) The

printer made a short count and printed too few copies of the new matter so that it could not be added to all copies. (c) The matter arrived during continuous printing but was imposed with a partly run-off forme already engaged in perfecting a sheet (or even in printing the first forme), and the printer did not bother to re-impose it later for separate impression to fill up the figure, or to run the sheets already partly printed through the press again to print the alteration in all copies. (d) The binder carelessly omitted the matter from copies although it was available. Any one of these states is perfectly possible, but only the fourth might be so small in quantity as to arouse suspicion. Something like (a) happened to the cancels in D'Avenant's quarto *Gondibert* (1651).[9] In Chapman's *Homer Prince of Poets* (*c.*1609) the circumstances of (c) may perhaps be found: according to the Pforzheimer Catalogue there is a strong possibility that an insert leaf containing dedicatory sonnets, occasionally found after leaf 2D1, was printed on a normally blank leaf 2F2 after a number of copies of half-sheet 2F had been run off. When in Settle's *Fairy-Queen* (1692) we see an inserted Preface present in the majority of copies of both states but omitted from one observed copy in the later state, we know that something like (b) or (d) probably occurred.

If sufficiently pressed, I think many writers would admit the difficulties I have presented which commonly make *re-issue* a highly conjectural and undesirably mechanical term, but they would be inclined to feel that the objection was not basically pertinent. The position would be that granted the difficulty of determining the time element in early books as applied to pre-sale and post-sale alterations, no harm is done by labelling alterations in make-up as constituting another issue. Even if the alteration was demonstrably made during the course of printing, or if the time of the alteration is ambiguous, the essential fact is that two forms of

[9] Dr. J. G. McManaway is collecting data for an investigation of this most interesting book. Publication of his study will point up very sharply the problem of temporality in such additions related to the time of publication.

the book were sold, that the priority of binding these forms can usually be inferred, and hence that two issues are constituted. Whether one is actually a re-issue is immaterial: if it is not, we may take it that the printer or publisher was "simultaneously" issuing two forms of the book.

This point of view, however, if maintained would succeed in obliterating almost every necessary distinction which should separate issue from state, and indeed it is responsible for most cloudy thinking about classification. Consistently applied, it would end in causing every press-variant forme to set up a different issue; moreover, it does not face the problem of aberrant copies. And even if all press-variants not affecting makeup were arbitrarily barred from consideration as separate issues, makeup alone is an insufficient criterion. If two forms of a book exist because a prepublication addition was machined with a short count, can two issues exist in all reason when the publisher intended to issue only one form of the book and the other exists by accident? If ten copies of a book are preserved, and one lacks a single-leaf Preface found in the others, do we have binder's error, short printing, or two issues? Is the publisher of Puttenham's *Arte of English Poesie* (1589) really issuing two forms of the book? If so, does Settle's *Fairy-Queen* (1692) exist in two issues identified by the makeup of the preliminaries, even though the letterpress is identical? When in the real 1693 re-issue of *The Fairy-Queen* with a cancellans title-leaf, some copies contain one of the two added songs, some copies the other, and some copies both, are there three separate issues? Logic, especially with the last, boggles at an affirmative answer. Is there one issue, or several dozen, for the widely variant appearance of cancels and inserts in the 1651 quarto *Gondibert?*

Any attempt to secure consistency of reasoning or of practice in classifying books according to such a non-bibliographical principle would end in failure. *Re-issue* and *simultaneous issue* are meaningless terms if confused; and each to have any practical value as

more than a bookseller's phrase must conform to one basic criterion: separate sale *as a consistent unit* of copies of one issue from another. In true *re-issue*, this requirement is satisfied by demonstrated temporality. Copies of one form are issued; at a later time the form is changed and all remaining copies are re-issued as a unit consistently in a different form. (Ideally, outstanding copies would be called in to be changed in form as well.) This pattern conforms to McKerrow's basic but too frequently ignored principles that re-issue is constituted by alterations in a cancellans title-page reflecting changes in publishing conditions or by efforts of one variety or another to put new life into the sale of old sheets. These principles make re-issue a meaningful term; it is meaningless if applied to alterations which cannot be demonstrated to be reflected in consistently separate sale of copies or in attempts to rejuvenate sale.

The same principles must hold for true *simultaneous issue*, which is a very restricted category. Thus if the two forms of Puttenham are actually separate issues, they must have been consciously sold as separate units and not in the fortuitous order in which they were bound. However, there is no evidence but that both *states* were casually distributed with no premium placed on the slightly more complete version. No purchaser picking up a copy in a bookstall would have been aware of the difference, and the seller might well have been equally ignorant. Correspondingly, the two states of the preliminaries of *The Fairy-Queen* were in all likelihood distributed casually; and if it happened fortuitously that a lot of one state was first bound and placed on sale, the fact is immaterial. There is nothing in the fact that the preliminaries in one form consist of two leaves and in another of three (each with an inserted single-leaf Preface) to sway a buyer to choose one or the other. To call books like this separate issues is to abandon all meaning in the use of bibliographical terminology.

There are only three classes of *simultaneous issue* which conform to McKerrow's basic criteria for *re-issue*. These are: (1) Press-

alteration of a title-page consequent upon issue of a book in two different forms consistent with the variant forms of the title. The classic example is the edition in 1661 of *Tom Tyler and His Wife*, in which Kirkman's two-gathering play catalogue is appended to copies which by a press-alteration added an advertisement of the catalogue on the title, and which represent Kirkman's share of the edition which he issued in a different form from the other sellers. (2) Copies on large or fine paper differing in form in a manner impossible for an "ideal copy" of the trade edition.[10] Homer's *Battle of Frogs and Mice* (1717) is an example. (3) Re-imposition of the identical type in another format after the printing of a sheet, as in the re-imposition from quarto to octavo of Jasper Mayne's *City Match* (1658-1659) and from octavo to quarto of Kirkman's edition of *The Wits* Part II (1673).[11]

Clearly these three, or rather four, cases are in a very different category from *The Fairy-Queen* or from Puttenham, where simultaneous issue is not a meaningful term.

When we return to McKerrow's criteria for re-issue and especially to the manner in which he refuses to accept simple temporality as all-sufficient, we see that he insists there are only two basic cases where re-issue has concrete meaning: post-publication alterations in the publishing conditions reflected in an altered title by cancellation and substitution; alterations or additions to the book intended to stimulate sale of the old sheets. McKerrow's actual examples of this last concerned only the preliminaries, but I

[10] Ordinary press-correction or widening the margins for the impression of large-paper sheets is excluded from the above.

[11] McKerrow reluctantly came to the conclusion that such re-imposition constituted two editions. But it is most important to save *edition* to imply a different type-setting, and McKerrow's arguments are not strong. I am happy to say that Dr. W. W. Greg agrees that this re-imposition should be classed as a "simultaneous issue" of two forms of the book. Greg also agrees with my (1) but is inclined to add copies with special dedications as in gift copies. Although I am somewhat inclined to reserve judgment on these, I should certainly add the rare fourth case suggested to me by Dr. Giles E. Dawson of the Folger Library for alterations in type-pages, with or without re-imposition, caused by impression for separate and for collected sale, as in the 1739 edition in collected and in separate form of Shakespeare's plays published by John Smith and Abraham Bradley in Dublin.

think we can reasonably extend the matter to cover the text as well.

With his first criterion there has been no quarrel, but the second has been subject to much inconsistent treatment. McKerrow unhesitatingly introduces the idea that the *nature* of the alterations is of importance, and he distinguishes correction of sheets from alterations to stimulate sale. I have already indicated that I do not believe this to be a sound criterion as he states it, since too many borderline cases develop and the evidence on which a decision would be based is non-bibliographical. Moreover, it does not sufficiently consider the means by which sale could be stimulated. From the evidence of cancellans title-pages which are commonly affixed not only to bring a book up-to-date but also to advertise any alterations which would aid sale, it is clear that publishers considered the title-page to be the chief and indeed the only form of advertisement to the customer. McKerrow's refusal to admit re-issue for books which contain only added material in the preliminaries like a dedication or a letter to the reader is a clear recognition that the publisher had no intention of stimulating sale by such additions without alteration of the title. We may also reasonably infer that when additions are made to the text (as McKerrow seems to imply as well), the publisher did not expect the average purchaser to be aware of them unless a new title-page advertised that these certain copies represent the book in a more attractive form than the earlier copies. Sale, therefore, can scarcely be stimulated by unadvertised and concealed improvements, nor can re-issue as a unit ordinarily be shown without the evidence of the altered title-page which sets some copies off from others.

We come, then, to what is the most important consideration for determining re-issue: the cancellans title-page or gathering. And we can say, usually with complete justice, that if the publisher considers alterations or additions within the book to be worth advertising by a new title, he is attempting to stimulate sale by his alterations and is thus re-issuing the book. If he does not consider

them important enough to advertise, we may reasonably assume that the alteration or addition was not made for the purpose of stimulating sale.[12] By this path we arrive at an important distinction between a *re-issue* (as well as *simultaneous issue*) and *ideal copy*.[13] An *ideal copy* is that form of the book which the printer or publisher wished to represent the most perfect and complete form to leave his shop. Sometimes he was able to make such necessary corrections or simple additions before all copies were printed; sometimes the added matter did not arrive or the necessity for alteration did not become apparent before some copies were sold. This question of time is immaterial for *ideal copy* so long as the title-page is not consequentially affected. Thus alterations or additions made to constitute *ideal copy* may be called *states*, whether made before or after publication; and only alterations or additions important enough to cause a cancellans title to be printed to call attention to them constitute *re-issue*. However, in such a case these alterations do not create the re-issue; instead, the consequential or accompanying cancellans title-leaf is the only cause. For example, a cancellans title which failed to mention the additions, or one advertising non-existent additions, would still constitute a *re-issue*.

By this means, at one stroke we cut away all personal decisions as to whether alterations were simple corrections or were made to

[12] No one could assume, for instance, that sale of *A Mirrour for Magistrates* (1610) could be aided by the substitution of a different dedication after Prince Henry's death, or that the post-publication alterations to the first stanza of Fairfax's translation of Tasso's *Godfrey of Bulloigne* (1600) were intended to assist sale.

[13] This is basically the distinction McKerrow was striving for in his differentiation of alterations intended to correct and alterations intended to stimulate sale. However, it differs in at least two respects from McKerrow's literal statement of his ideas: it covers additions, as well as alterations; and it sets up the publisher's own indication of his intent as manifested in a cancellans title for the bibliographer's private estimate of his intent based on the content of the alterations. McKerrow consistently implies the necessity for this cancellans title but does not make an explicit statement about it; moreover, his added remarks about the difficulties in the classification of *Troilus and Cressida* show that the full implications of the cancellans title were not present in his mind. Nevertheless, my introduction of the principle of *ideal copy* into questions of issue versus state carries forward, in my opinion, McKerrow's basic premises to their logical conclusion.

stimulate sale. We cut away all unrealistic endeavors to estimate by number of copies in each form whether an addition or alteration was made before or after that minute and usually indeterminable point in time, the first placing of copies on public sale.[14] We thus limit simple temporality (always difficult to determine) to the lapse in time between true publishing efforts and remove all minor factors having to do with the normal formation of *ideal copy*. In this manner, I think, we most truly follow McKerrow's implicit and sound principles and make of *re-issue* a meaningful term, not a mechanical and inaccurate label. We include, as he did, publisher's intention as of paramount importance, since re-issue, to mean anything, must apply only to a conscious publishing effort. But we do not lose ourselves in byways of argument about intention.[15] The intention of the publisher is not our decision but his own, which he reveals to us in his distinguishing one lot of copies from an earlier lot by an altered title. Without this indication of intention, we have *states* caused by unadvertised efforts to constitute *ideal copy*. With an altered cancellans title-page, made for no matter what reason,[16] we have the only sound bibliographical evidence that is available for the kind of publishing effort which it is proper to call *re-issue*. This criterion has an occasional rare difficulty, but for the vast majority of books I know of no

[14] The fact cannot be emphasized too strongly that often an addition or alteration was printed before publication but, for reasons of economy, was added only to those copies not yet bound. Whether in such cases some early copies without the addition had been placed on sale, or whether the first lot for sale was still in process of binding, is a question not ordinarily capable of determination. Hence any classification applied to the two forms which uses terminology implying such a determination is misleading and often inaccurate.

[15] Thus we do not become involved in the non-bibliographical difficulty which McKerrow felt was inherent in the classification of *Troilus and Cressida*. The new title-page is sufficient indication of the publisher's intent to re-issue.

[16] By this I mean to include re-issues constituted simply by cancellation and substitution of a title without change in the text or other preliminaries. There are, of course, a few exceptions where a simple cancellation of the title is a state, not another issue. Among these I should place a cancellans printed as part of an original sheet (whether of the preliminaries or of the text) to perform the same function as a press-variant title, and also cancellans titles printed only to correct a misprint.

other which operates with such justice and ease and which reflects more faithfully the actual facts of publishing.[17]

[17] Thus in 1693 the 1692 sheets of Settle's *Fairy Queen* were re-issued with a cancellans sheet containing an altered scene and also with two single-leaf inserts containing added songs, the re-issue accompanied by a cancellans title calculated to stimulate sale by advertisement of these improvements. On the other hand, when two leaves of Shakespeare's 2 *Henry IV* (1600) were cancelled and a full quarto sheet substituted containing an additional scene, the publisher did not advertise the fact by a new title. Clearly, the publisher was endeavoring to create an *ideal copy* of his edition and was content to introduce the improved copies into continuous sale without that publishing effort which we must recognize as alone constituting re-issue. The ordinary purchaser had no means of knowing that one copy was more desirable than another, since no publishing effort had been made to stimulate sale to those who had not yet purchased, or to make resales to those who already owned a copy of what would be identified as an earlier form.

Dickensiana in the Rough

By Philo Calhoun and Howell J. Heaney

THE body of Charles Dickens has been mouldering in the Abbey for more than three-quarters of a century, but his spirit seems to go marching on with unflagging vitality. "Pickwickian" has become a more common adjective than "Homeric," and Fagin and Pecksniff and Tiny Tim are almost as widely known as the Gumps and Donald Duck. Jarndyce *vs.* Jarndyce is probably cited more often in the courts than any case ever tried, and to this day, no school serves powdered eggs without risking the taunt of "Dotheboys Hall." There is no pedantic affectation involved in all this. If during the past forty years we have been guided through Dickens' London by almost as many books as there are streets in that fair city, it is because no other excursion in that locality is half so fascinating. If the dull and patient Forster is supplemented almost annually by some biographically-minded enthusiast, it is because hundreds of readers honestly and eagerly await new light on the joyous but complicated personality that was Charles Dickens. If no Christmas book is complete without some reference to the "Founder of the Feast," it is because most of us can't sit down to our holiday dinner without Mr. Scrooge.

A few years ago one of the writers of this paper had the privilege of attending the opening of a remarkable exhibit of literary material. One man had spent fifty years in collecting it, and it filled every shelf on all four sides of the great exhibition hall of the Grolier Club in New York. The remarkable thing about it was that the entire collection concerned one unfinished novel—Dickens' *Edwin Drood*. If few collectors would have assumed

such a task, scarcely another writer could have inspired it.

Some mathematician of literary tastes, if such there be, may one day start plotting curves of literary vitality and evolve useful formulae for avoiding the shelves upon which presently repose such one-time favorites as Disraeli and Bulwer-Lytton and Meredith and Mrs. Humphry Ward. There will be library and book-shop statistics indicating frequency of reading, and radio statistics covering vocal mention, and there will be comparative graphs of educational requirements and entertainment quotients and economic and political factors of all sorts. But for unmathematical souls like you and me, the answers have usually been available in any good public library, where the curve and the velocity of an author's contribution to the sum of human happiness may ordinarily be computed from the records of those who attested their interest by the printed word. If there are no such records, computation will be simple indeed.

Historically speaking, a series of novels records no more than the impact of his generation on a single creative personality. What has been written about those books in the course of a century or so is, at very least, a kaleidoscope of the varying manners, tastes and standards of the entire period. The inquiring student may be, and often is, far less concerned with re-reading an old novel by a new light than with analyzing and coördinating variables of human reaction to a constant such as *David Copperfield*. The critical history of a great book could be expected to be also a history of the developing scholarship and shifting standards and changing ideologies of all the decades or centuries in which that book has moved the hearts and minds of men.

It is curious, therefore, that a hundred years of popular enthusiasm and several thousand books and articles about Dickens and his work have failed to add up to a clear portrait of the one, or a comprehensive analysis of the other. A recent writer[1] has said:

[1] Edmund Wilson, *Dickens: The Two Scrooges* (in: *The Wound and the Bow; Seven Studies in Literature* [Boston], Houghton, Mifflin, 1941), pp. 1 and 2.

Of all the great English writers, Charles Dickens has received in his own country the scantiest serious attention from either biographers, scholars, or critics. He has become for the English middle class so much one of the articles of their creed —a familiar joke, a favorite dish, a Christmas ritual—that it is difficult for British pundits to see in him the great artist and social critic that he was. . . .

Since Forster's elaborate memoir, which even in the supplemented edition of Ley has never been a real biography, no authoritative book about Dickens has been published. Some of the main facts about his life have until recently been kept from the public, and now that they have finally come out they have usually been presented either by doddering Dickens-fanciers or through the medium of garrulous memoirs. . . . The typical Dickens expert is an old duffer who, as Mr. Straus has said, is primarily interested in proving that Mr. Pickwick stopped at a certain inn and slept in a certain bed.

This was written five years before the appearance of the Pope-Hennessey[2] biography, but admirable as that work is, it is obviously not comprehensive, either as a biography or as critical synthesis.

Mr. Wilson might also have included Dickens bibliography in his category of neglected studies. There is no accurate and complete Dickens bibliography. Eckel, still standard, wrote in the days when a bibliographer was a compiler of the opinions, usually categorical and often erroneous, of his predecessors in the field. Hatton and Cleaver, the scope of whose work is limited to periodical publication, worked largely from one private library, with results which seem, to this writer at least, of doubtful authority. Sound bibliography implies collecting all the evidence, historical and biographical as well as typographical, and in the end, a weighing and balancing of all such probative factors. Hardly any complete studies of the sort have been made with Dickens material.

Chesterton asserted that Dickens was not merely one of the Victorian School, but that posterity would acclaim him the greatest English writer of his day. On more than one occasion, Shaw has coupled his name with Shakespeare's. In the light of such judgment, if for no other reason, Dickensian research becomes a matter of significance and of value.

[2] Una Pope-Hennessey, *Charles Dickens, 1812-1870* (London, Chatto & Windus, 1945).

Having on the one hand an almost continuous flow of miscellaneous and uncollected writings about Dickens, and on the other a dearth of comprehensive, authoritative or even accurate analysis of any major aspect of the Dickens tradition, it was with understandable satisfaction and eager anticipation that we noted, some months ago, the announcement of a book by William Miller with the alluring title *The Dickens Student and Collector: A List of Writings Relating to Charles Dickens and His Works, 1836-1945* (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1946). Such a book was overdue. Studies of Dickens had long been handicapped by the lack of any real coördination, classification, or indexing of Dickensiana. Here would be a compendium of source material of the greatest utility not only by way of meeting this need, but in stimulating the definitive work on Dickens which is yet crying to be done.

Born in 1869, Mr. Miller has centered his avocational interests on Dickens lore for a matter of at least half a century. He has been a regular contributor to *The Dickensian* since 1905, and was in 1928, one of three surviving members (Ley and Tyrell were the other two) of the group which founded the magazine. In that year he produced the first illustrated edition of *The Strange Gentleman.* He has been a member of The Dickens Fellowship since its first meeting on October 5, 1902, and was for many years on the Council of that body. As his title-page discloses, he was Honorary Librarian to the Dickens Fellowship from 1903 to 1925, and (with E. H. Strange) co-author of *A Centenary Bibliography of the Pickwick Papers* (London, The Argonaut Press, 1936). His own collection of Dickensiana, particularly of Dickensian music (recently acquired by Dickens House and catalogued by T. W. Hill) has a wide reputation, and both Ley and Fitzgerald acknowledged an indebtedness to him.[3]

[3] John Forster, *The Life of Charles Dickens.* Edited and Annotated with an Introduction by J. W. T. Ley (New York, Doubleday, Doran [1928]), p. XXVII. S. J. Adair Fitz-Gerald, *Dickens and the Drama* (London, Chapman & Hall, 1910), p. XXII.

Any contribution to Dickensiana by a collector of Miller's respected standing would have been a literary event. It is only too bad that it was so much less of an event than the title and the preface would lead one to expect.

Miller does not deserve the harsh comment of one English reviewer who noted that "the time has surely come when Dickens scholarship should be rescued from the doddering atmosphere and methods of ill-qualified enthusiasts."[4] The book is valuable, if only for its sections on music and plagiarism,[5] and for several items in the remaining sections of which we have been able to find no other record. Its chief value, however, is to illustrate with a good deal of force, the need for intensive, expert, grass-roots work in this field. The main purpose of this paper is to outline as briefly as possible, some of the things we, as "students and collectors," would like to find in a volume of this sort, and to suggest, from the same point of view, some means and methods which might aid in producing that result. If in so doing, we use Mr. Miller's work as a text, it is in no spirit of unkind or captious criticism. His own unique collection merited a catalogue, and the rest of the book is at very least a memorial to the good taste and scholarly instincts of a lifetime. If its results are faulty and incomplete, that too is part of a leisurely cultural tradition which, until recently, has held itself aloof from modern standards of utility and thoroughness.

But it is still axiomatic that research has no substantial value to the student unless its scope and limitation are accurately defined. In a work like Miller's, for instance, if these are not disclosed, the reader has no way of knowing the extent to which the collection of titles has saved his own research time, or what if

[4] *Notes and Queries*, 192: 221 (No. 11, May 31, 1947).

[5] Although this section omits all reference to the classic example of Dickens plagiarism, the *Carol* piracy which resulted in the author's famous law-suit ([Hewitt, Henry] *A Christmas Ghost Story*, London, Lee and Haddock, 1844. Parley's Illuminated Library, No. 16). Oddly enough, one of the few known copies of this piracy was in Mr. Miller's own library in 1937 (see *The Dickensian*, XXXIV:43).

anything, remains to be done if he has in mind an exhaustive inquiry. One cannot object too strenuously to a selective list provided one is told it *is* selective. Our chief complaint against Mr. Miller is that he tells us that "great care has been expended in order to make it [his book] as complete and up to date as possible" and that his chief object has been "to supply a complete list of all Dickensiana" (excepting only the less important newspaper material), whereas the most superficial investigation will show that his list is so far from complete that it does not even begin to exhaust material from readily available sources.

This all started from a check of the writers' own libraries, each of which contains only a few of the minor and casual Dickensiana that fall into the lap of any Dickens admirer. And yet no less than eleven items were unlisted by Miller. We then noted some Dickensiana cited in two of the more obvious bibliographies[6] that include such material. Of publications there listed during the fourteen years from 1932 to 1945 inclusive, Miller missed ten out of seventy-nine books and pamphlets, five out of forty-four portions of books, thirty-five out of 119 major articles of three pages or more, and forty-four out of fifty articles of less than three pages. In the same period, there is no reference in Miller to thirty-five articles in *The Times Literary Supplement*, forty-six in *Notes and Queries* and something over 400 items of major interest in *The Dickensian*.[7]

The omissions resulting from a failure to check indexes to literature in collections are noteworthy. The *Essay and General Literature Index* (1900-1945) alone discloses fifty-seven such items,

[6] Modern Humanities Research Association, *Annual Bibliography of English Language & Literature . . .* [1920-]1938 (Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, [etc.] 1921-1940), Vols. [I]-XIX. William D. Templeman, ed., *Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Thirteen Years 1932-1944* (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1945). Charles F. Harrold, *Victorian Bibliography for 1945*, in: *Modern Philology*, XLIII:260-276 (Number 4, May, 1946).

[7] The omission of these last must have been intentional, since no material from *The Dickensian* is listed unless separately reprinted, but it would seem that a decision involving all but a few of the many notable articles that have appeared in the magazine over a period of forty years required at least a note of explanation.

including essays by Chesterton, Galsworthy, Shaw, Osbert Sitwell, Arthur Waugh, Walt Whitman, J. B. Priestley, John Drinkwater, E. V. Lucas, A. Edward Newton, Christopher Morley, Laurence Housman, Alfred Noyes and Vincent Starrett.

If it be argued that the compiler does not purport to include all periodical literature, it may be pointed out that he does not scorn comparatively insignificant sources, including *The Typewriter World*, *The Engraver*, *The Girl's Realm*, *The Dental Magazine and Oral Topics* and the West Publishing Company's *Docket*.

Spot checks of national and trade bibliographies and special bibliographies of periodical publications revealed omissions on a comparable scale. We have noted at the conclusion of this paper a list of sources examined, which, although by no means exhaustive, will furnish material for a list at least half again as long as Mr. Miller's. When we found that Miller does not even include all the material in Kitton's list,[8] of which it purports to be an extension, or in Carty's supplement to Kitton,[9] or in T. W. Hill's catalogue[10] of Miller's own collection of Dickens music, we gave up any attempt to complete the list, as far beyond the scope of a paper such as this. We do make the statement, however, that there is no important source which does not note a substantial number of books, portions of books or articles of more than trivial interest, which ought to be and are not included in Miller.

Which brings us to the question as to whether a list of this sort may properly be selective, and if so, what should be the standard of selection.

One writer condemns the fetish of completeness, and urges selective bibliography on the principle of "exclusion of books which add nothing to the subjects of which they treat, which

[8] Frederic G. Kitton, *Dickensiana: A Bibliography of the Literature Relating to Charles Dickens and His Writings* (London, George Redway, 1886).

[9] Charles F. Carty, *Some Addenda to Kitton's "Dickensiana,"* in: *The Literary Collector*, V:12-14, 43-46 (1902-1903).

[10] T. W. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Miller Collection of Dickens Music at the Dickens House*, in: *The Dickensian*, XXXVII:48-54 (Winter Number, 1940-1941).

make no contribution to either thought or knowledge, which copy from other books, which say *ad nauseam* what has been said, and said better elsewhere. . . ."[11]

Maisie Ward, on the other hand, reminds us that "most Dickens idolators read anything about their idol if only for the pleasure of the quotations."[12]

But if selection is to be based on some standard of value, who fixes the selective formula? How can the compiler set himself up as a judge of comparative literary or even factual importance and still remain a compiler? Who is he to say that no one could possibly be interested in the way Dickens combed his hair, or how many cigarettes he smoked?[13] We have been reminded that "as good as gold" is an expression first used in *A Christmas Carol*. Who shall say that a discussion of "dead as a door nail" in the same book, is without more than trivial interest?[14]

We hold no brief for a standard of absolute completeness. In fact we should agree that any perfection would be impossible of accomplishment in such a list. Every high-school boy has done a theme on Dickens. General literature of all sorts abounds in references to and illustrations from the author's life and characters. One could find a hundred references to Tiny Tim in the periodicals and newspapers published in December of any calendar year. A. Edward Newton, to mention a single example, wrote few essays in which Dickens is not mentioned. Innumerable book-dealers' and auction catalogues, the daily press of a thousand cities, obscure periodicals, privately printed papers, introductions and prefaces to text-books, all combine to add insurmountable barriers to anything which could fairly be called exhaustive.

[11] Louis S. Jast, *Bibliography and the Deluge: I Accuse*, in: *Library Association Record*, XXXVIII:353-360 (1936).

[12] Maisie Ward, *Gilbert Keith Chesterton* (New York, Sheed & Ward, 1943), p. 177.

[13] Discussed in: *Dickens's Amanuensis*, in: *Tit-Bits from All the Most Interesting Books, Periodicals and Contributors in the World* (London, George Newnes), issue of September 2, 1882. Not listed in Miller.

[14] Discussed in *The Dickensian*, XXX:307 (Autumn, 1934).

We do contend that a list such as Miller's, to be of real value (1) must be complete from all reasonably available sources, (2) must list those sources in detail, and (3) ought at least to suggest other sources from which the list might be supplemented. In addition, the compiler should indicate whether he has depended on an index or has checked that index against its references, and in the case of an index to a periodical, has at least spot-checked the run of the periodical against the index. In a word, the student is entitled to know exactly the extent to which the compiler has done his work for him, and exactly the extent to which he does not claim to have done so.

There is not much room for substantial difference of opinion as to what are "reasonably available sources." They include primarily the material listed in standard bibliographies of bibliographies, general bibliographies of English literature, national and trade bibliographies, indexes to periodical literature and literature in collections, and printed and card catalogues of large libraries. Pursued only to that extent, however, the list saves the student's time only insofar as it is supplemented by intelligent classification and indexing. At this point, the copyist stops, and the industrious scholar continues. Still available to him, although with more difficulty, are such sources as lists of doctoral dissertations, publications of learned societies, privately printed books, auction catalogues, and catalogues of small institutional libraries having special collections. Finding, for example, that there is no useful subject record of English books until Whitaker's list (1924), our compiler will compensate for this by a check of the subject index of books added to the library of the British Museum and by examination of, for example, the Peabody Institute *Catalogue* and the card catalogues of important libraries. He will not neglect catalogues of collections of special materials such as music and drama. He will check the runs of periodicals, having in mind that periodical indexes usually omit such things as short reviews, editorials and items in contributors' columns.

We submit that, until at least all these sources are thoroughly combed, no list can be designated as complete in any sense of the word. Beyond this, of course, the pursuit is still endless, and limited only by exigencies such as the understandable desire to get something into print before the usefulness of one's material becomes a matter of interest only to the inheritance tax authorities. Uncatalogued private libraries can be checked. Introductions to editions of Dickens' works may be examined, unindexed reviews may be searched for, the files of prominent newspapers may be combed over. The turn of the century was a high point for general cultural essays. Many of them include paragraphs and sometimes pages about Dickens which have eluded all indexers. No sociological history of the nineteenth century would be complete without references to the author's enormous influence in this field, but there is no way of collecting such excerpts except by painstaking search. Reviews of books about Dickens, of new editions and collections, of Dickens moving pictures, editorial and other comment on Dickens' anniversaries, radio scripts and scenarios—the field is limitless, and far beyond the scope of published lists and indexes. If an ideal Miller could command the services of a score of intelligent researchers, each of them might add a hundred items to the collection.

But at some point, completeness becomes a fetish which defeats its own purpose. If titles are hard for the compiler to find, they may be comparably difficult for the student to locate and examine. Our list becomes a scholar's stunt rather than a useful students' hand-book. It is more and more "a census of paper spoiled by being printed on . . . a ghastly company of corpses" buried by time and dug up for the greater glory of the compiler and the greater confusion of the researcher.

We repeat that it is chiefly important that the list be complete within the scope of its announced sources, whatever those sources may be. If in addition to this, the bibliographer wishes to suggest byways available to searchers for unlisted trivia, that would seem

a sufficient concession to the ultra-meticulous and to such as have a flair for cultural back-waters.

Having our list of books, articles and similar material, it is time to get down to real work, because we have yet to save the student much labor beyond the physical exertion of getting thirty or forty books off the shelves. If our compilation is to be worth printing, the material must be classified, annotated and indexed. Classified, so that material on one subject will be listed together; annotated at least to the extent (1) of specifying content not suggested by titles and (2) of pointing out the most easily available format; indexed in a manner calculated to insure the utmost possible utility.

With some added sections, Miller's classification follows in general that of Kitton's earlier book. It is divided into twelve sections which may be abbreviated thus: (I) Biographical, (II), Critical (general), (III) Critical (reviews of Dickens' works), (IV) Critical (reviews of Forster's *Life*), (V) Critical (reviews of *The Letters of Charles Dickens*), (VI) Poetical, (VII) Dramatic, (VIII) Musical, (IX) Anthological, (X) Plagiaristic, Parodies, Sequels and Attempts at Elucidation, (XI) Topographical (XII) Bibliographical. Within these groups the arrangement is chronological (undated entries at the end), modified in some sections by a sub-grouping of items relating to major works by Dickens (arranged in order of publication), followed by a section covering minor works.

Partly because this grouping is so mussy and confusing, it is difficult to be entirely coherent in criticising it. The demarcation between sections, particularly (I), (II), and (III), is so blurred that overlapping can hardly be avoided, and the placing of a particular item is often either obviously wrong, or justifiable only by some artificial standard which the compiler makes no attempt to elucidate. For example, Fitzgerald's *The History of Pickwick* (Division I, p. 27) is no more "biographical" than *A Pickwick Portrait Gallery* (Division II, p. 127) or Mrs. Seymour's *Account of the*

Origin of the "Pickwick Papers" (Division II, p. 131). Logan Clendening and Edwin P. Whipple treat their subject in much the same way, and yet *Mr. Pickwick's Birthday* is entered in Division II (p. 127) and *Dickens and "The Pickwick Papers"* appears in Division III (p. 136). Examples of the sort could be multiplied. The extension of Division X (Plagiaristic) to include "Attempts at Elucidation" was made to find a place for various efforts to complete *Edwin Drood*. Unfortunately this has the effect of separating these titles from closely associated material entered only in Division III.

Kitton's classification was warranted partly by the loose bibliographical standards of his day, and partly by the nature and extent of his material. Since 1886 there has been a tremendous increase in the number and variety of books and articles about Dickens. Miller has included enough of them to show that classifications of the Kitton type are entirely outmoded and inadequate.

The day of the nicely printed check-list of a gentleman's library has almost passed. And the thought that it may include items from libraries of the gentleman's gentleman friends has not served to enhance the usefulness of such pleasant cultural ephemera. Bibliography has grown up. If not yet an exact science, it has adopted the scientific method at least to the extent of analyzing and coördinating its source materials. Opinion evidence in this field is unavoidable, but its respectability is commensurate with its evidential and factual foundation.

And by the same token, students have outgrown and find little use for the grouping which emphasizes literary types and minimizes basic subject-matter. They want to find their material with the least possible effort, and take no pleasure in being side-tracked by a bibliographer's personal judgment as to the place of an item in a particular field or sub-field of literature.

Specifically, a student of *Pickwick* would be aided by finding all of the material on that book in one place. He should not be obliged to hunt through each of twelve sections, all containing material

on the book. *Bibliographies, Imitations and Sequels, Dramatizations, Studies and Commentaries* and the like, should be sub-divisions of the heading *Pickwick Papers*, rather than the reverse. Darton's bibliography[15] suggests the general idea, and with a more comprehensive list, his plan could obviously be improved and expanded. The collector of musical and dramatic titles or of plagiarisms, for instance, will prefer Miller's method to Darton's, but such highly specialized research can be adequately served by proper cross-references and indexing.

As a matter of fact, the whole business of physical grouping of titles is so subordinate to good subject-indexing that we are not inclined to labor the former beyond suggesting that any question ought to be resolved wholly on a basis of the widest usefulness to the greatest number. Assuming that there are more students of *Pickwick* than of general Dickens criticisms, it follows that *Pickwick* material is the more entitled to its separate section. Granted a substantial interest in Dickens' illustrators as a class, material concerning them can be grouped in one place, with cross-references under headings dealing with particular books. If the bibliographer's judgment is faulty, it can be largely compensated for by an index adapted to both types of student.

In discussing the matter of annotations, we have no thought of unduly expanding the scope of our proposed list. Here again the test is one of utility, and annotations are chiefly useful either for the purpose of identifying subject-matter where this is not apparent from the title, or of aiding the student to locate the material in its most readily available form.

For instance, how is the student of any phase of *A Christmas Carol* to avoid digging out an article entitled *Marley's Ghost in Athens*[16] if he knows no more about its contents than the title sug-

[15] F. J. Harvey Darton, *Charles Dickens (1812-1870)* in: Frederick W. Bateson, *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature* (New York, The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1941), III:435-455.

[16] John Merle Rife, *Marley's Ghost in Athens*, in: *Classical Journal*, XXXIV: 42-43 (Number 1, October, 1938).

gests? For all that appears, it might concern some Greek first edition, or a dramatic version performed in the theater of Dionysus, or a Christmas dinner served up by some Hellenic Cratchit. It would require only a two-line note to advise the student that the article suggests that the *Carol* plot may have been influenced by Heine's *Harzreise* or by a letter of Pliny the Younger. Such a note will save most students a chase for *The Classical Journal.*

A title such as *The Playboy of Gad's Hill*[17] will elevate the ears of the alert biographer. He will have visions of further light on the Ellen Ternan relationship, or similar savory items. He can be saved considerable excitement if he is told that the article is a review of a privately printed pamphlet entitled *The Dummy Library of Charles Dickens at Gad's Hill Place.*[18] Incidentally this is an illustration of the value of including reviews. They are often, by reason of originality of thought and independent research, fully as valuable as the items reviewed, and as in this case, far easier to find. Neither the review nor the book is in Miller, although the one is listed in *The Readers' Guide* and the other in *Catalog of Books Represented by Library of Congress Printed Cards.* Miller is not partial to reviews, but he does list some. (*See* Miller, pp. 95, 102, 107.)

We have been unable to evolve any formula to account for Miller's descriptive notes. There are eighteen of them, for instance, in Division II. We found thirty-eight more items in the same Division where a brief annotation would have been equally useful.

The other chief reason for annotations is to assist the student in locating an item. Miller makes some attempts at this. He sometimes notes reprints and original magazine sources, but unfor-

[17] John T. Winterich, *The Playboy of Gad's Hill,* in: *Saturday Review of Literature,* X:621 (April 7, 1934).

[18] Charles Rubens, *The Dummy Library of Charles Dickens at Gad's Hill Place; Recollections of a Pilgrimage, as Narrated by Charles Rubens to J. Christian Bay* ([Chicago] Privately Printed [by T. Rubovits Inc.] 1934).

tunately he is neither thorough nor consistent. For instance, Wilson's *Dickens: The Two Scrooges*[19] published in book form as a portion of *The Wound and the Bow*, is a collection of two essays in the *Atlantic* and three in the *New Republic*, plus some connecting and introductory material. In Miller's list the two *Atlantic* articles are joined in a single entry (p. 68) but the *New Republic* articles are listed, two on p. 130 and the other on p. 256. The four separate entries are not tied up in any way. The similarity of titles is a clue, but even if the student noticed this, there is nothing to tell him that the later essay is in effect a reprint.

Notes of reprinting are particularly valuable in giving the student a choice of references. For instance, Miller lists on p. 117: "*Dickens.* By G. Santayana. New York. *The Dial.* November, 1921. pp. 537-549." A note should be added that the essay is reprinted in the author's *Soliloquies in England* (New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922), pp. 58-73. *The Dial* is widely available in libraries, but if the student wants the material in his own library, the book is what he will be looking for.

On page 281, Miller lists "*The Pickwick Papers, Some Bibliographical Remarks. An Address delivered before the Caxton Club, January sixteenth, 1937, by J. Christian Bay, Librarian, the John Crerar Library, Chicago.* Illustrated. Chicago: the Caxton Club, 1938, 29 pp. " He fails to add that only 250 copies were printed, and that the paper is far more readily accessible to the student as reprinted in the author's *The Fortune of Books* (Chicago, W. M. Hill, 1941), pp. 223-237.

The relationship of separately listed items ought certainly to appear in some form, whether it be cross-indexing or annotation or both. The cases of articles in a series, or in reprint or in different formats or editions, are the most obvious examples of what is needed, but there are other affiliations which could stand a brief

[19] Edmund Wilson, *Dickens: The Two Scrooges*, in: *The Wound and the Bow*, pp. [1]-104.

comment. For example, a series of articles by Pennell, Cohn and Sawyer in the London *Bookman* during the early twenties constituted a famous running dispute as to certain points in the bibliography of *A Christmas Carol*. Each article is by a separate author, but each is a vital part of a general discussion. We submit that this fact should clearly appear.

There is also the question of how to treat different editions of the same book. Entry of all editions under the first might be useful for someone with an interest in the particular item; entry of each edition in its chronological place might be of help to one concerned with a rise and fall of popular interest. Having in mind the purpose of our book, the criterion is still one of identification and ready location. And by that test it would ordinarily seem beyond the scope of our enterprise to list more than the most recent edition with perhaps a note of the date of earliest publication. However, in cases of publication both in England and America, particularly where the title has been changed, it would be obviously useful (a) to list both editions and (b) to make it plain that the text is identical.

For instance, we find in Miller (p. 101) the item "*Charles Dickens*. By G. K. Chesterton. London: Methuen and Co., 1906." There is nothing to tell us that *Charles Dickens, the Last of the Great Men,* published in New York in 1942 and noted by Miller on page 131, is the same text plus a foreword by Alexander Woollcott. One page 107 of Miller, we find another Chesterton item: "*Appreciations and Criticisms of the Works of Charles Dickens*"—the 1911 edition. The 1933 edition of the same book, with the title changed to *Criticisms and Appreciations of the Works of Charles Dickens,* is not listed. An American edition of Straus' *Dickens: A Portrait in Pencil* published the same year as the English edition, but under a different title, is not noted at all. Several items of A. Edward Newton, an American, are listed in English publications; no American edition is noted.

We have been talking so far about descriptive annotations, de-

signed to help the student determine the general character of the reference and to locate whatever he wants to look at.

If the compiler is moved to go further, and to attempt something in the nature of a critical appraisal of his material, he will at least have contributed a degree of warmth and color to his basic structure. Done with care and restraint, notes of this character could add substantially to the value of the whole. The temptation is, of course, to over-extend such comment to the point of diminishing returns. After all, the main idea of the whole undertaking is to save time for the student; such a purpose might be well served by a brief introductory paragraph to each division of the book, calling attention to recognized authorities or to articles of particular originality or distinction. It will not be advanced by elaborate critical niceties or by the listing of material on a particular topic in some dogmatic order of importance. Who cares, for instance, what even our made-to-order bibliographer would select as the most plausible attempt to complete *Edwin Drood?* Certainly not the writers of this article.

It may be suggested that if an item be so worthless as to merit adverse comment, or so undistinguished as to rate no comment at all, perhaps it were better to leave it out entirely. Admittedly there is a mass of such material. But some zealous statistician may want to know that the centennial of *Pickwick* was recognized by a magazine published in Dallas, Texas, and someone else may be on the track of a neatly turned phrase which he recalls in the preface of a San Francisco *Carol* imprint. Which is enough reason in each case for listing the item, but no reason for troubling the average Dickensian to look it up, if he can be rescued by a hint of its insignificance. If the hint be only of the bleak negative variety, it will have served its turn.

If we were doing the job, we might also include such things as cross-references to Kitton's earlier list, and a brief bibliographical note under each work of Dickens used as a section title, giving the year and place of first publication, with a reference to Eckel

or Hatton and Cleaver, and perhaps the location of the manuscript, if known. But if you think this is gilding the lily or trying to compete with *The World Almanac*, we won't quarrel about it.

If you, our ideal compiler, have followed directions up to this point, you will have before you some five thousand or so references, nicely coördinated, neatly classified and adequately annotated. But, for all of us, you can take the lot and stuff it in your furnace unless you are prepared to get to work on a sound, comprehensive, accurate and usable index. That will be the heart of your book, and without it, we shall continue to get along with Poole and the others. There's no sense talking about how to find your references in libraries if we can't locate them in your book without wearing out our thumbs and our dispositions. And when we say *you* must get to work, we mean you, and not some estimable friend with spare time who can read English and knows the alphabet.

Neither of the writers of this paper has ever made an index. But one of us is a lawyer and the other a librarian, and each of us is dependent upon indexes in making his living, and claims at least to know a good one when he see it. And we report without fear of contradiction, that the "noble index" (*vide* the introduction) of Miller's book is one of the most thoroughly irritating examples of that fine art which either of us has yet encountered. At least it is irritating as a guide to the book. As a sort of game where one could pile up quite a score discovering things wrong with it, it was not such bad fun.

Of course Miller should have done his own index. Wheatley quotes a wise old paradox to the effect that "the index of a book should be made by the author, even if the book itself were written by some one else."[20] It is easy to see how a good many errors would have been avoided, and a good deal more information provided, if this axiom had been heeded. But as it is, there is hardly

[20] Henry B. Wheatley, *How to Make an Index* (London, Elliott Stock, 1902), p. 109.

an indexing blunder noted in either Wheatley or Wheeler[21] of which Miller does not furnish examples.

His index purports to combine in one alphabetical list, without consistent typographical distinction (1) authors, (2) titles, (3) certain catchwords and (4) the names of periodicals which contain the articles listed (a useless appendage here).

Perhaps its worst feature is the result of the failure to number the items listed. The references being only to pages, the student must pore through an entire page of ten or twenty listings, and is never sure, when he has found an item corresponding to the index, that there is not another item by the same author, further down on the same page. Numbering of each entry would have also served the even more useful purpose of providing a simple basis for cross-reference and is almost a *sine qua non* for the sort of subject index which a work of this sort deserves, and without which its utility is vastly impaired.

We do not suggest separate indexes for authors, titles and subjects. The common (and better) practice of a single index with typographical distinctions to point out the character of each item, gives the student the advantages of separate indexes without the trouble and the risk of missing a reference involved in consulting independent lists.

The difference between a true subject index and the catchword device used in Miller's book, is vital. In the latter, only words in a title are used, with apparently the sole thought of locating the item on a particular page. An article about *Pickwick*, which does not contain the word "Pickwick," is entirely lost. In a comprehensive index, it would have been listed not only under author and title, but also under *Pickwick* and under such appropriate headings as would be needed to point out the general character and content of the article, and its relation, if any, to other

[21] Martha T. Wheeler, *Indexing: Principles, Rules and Examples.* Fourth Ed. ([Albany] The University of the State of New York, [1942]. University of the State of New York, Bulletin No. 1230, February 16, 1942.)

items. It would also appear under titles and sub-titles under which it is listed in the body of the work. Item numbers would make such cross-indexing possible.

And speaking of Mr. Pickwick, let's follow him for a bit through Miller's (or Mrs. Amsbary's) "noble index." As a journey suggestive of that gentleman's peregrinations in real life it is not without sentimental analogy, but sentiment saves no time for the busy student. The index (pp. 332 and 334) has eight headings for the book, with references under each, as follows:

Pickwick
Pickwick
"Pickwick"
"Pickwick Papers"
Pickwick Papers
Pickwick Papers, The
Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, The
"Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club, The,"

Whatever else one may think about this array of quotes and italics, they seem at very least an impressive guaranty of meticulous accuracy. And yet of fifteen entries in Division II the title of each of which includes *Pickwick Papers* in some form, ten are not entered under any one of the eight headings. On this system, it is easy to see how an item entitled *Entstehungsgeschichte der "Pickwick Papers"* may never emerge from a happy oblivion long enough to grace even a foot-note. *Pickwick* is no isolated instance of this sort of treatment. Of fifty-three entries in Division II, each containing a Dickens book-title in some form, only twenty-three appear in the index under that title.

It is a temptation to "go to town" on the detail of this index. There are numerous errors in alphabetization. There are half a dozen instances of failure to list an author. There are annoying cases of blind adherence to the strict form of a title, with the result that the item is thoroughly submerged. For example, on page 347, there is an entry "Ward, Adolphus William, 21, 100, 102,

114." Then five other Wards. Then "Ward, Professor, 84." Of course this is our old friend Adolphus William, who was teaching at the University of Manchester until 1897, but he gets no credit under his full name for the lecture listed on page 84. On page 122 appears "This Side Idolatry. A Novel. By 'Ephesian' (C. E. Bechhofer Roberts)." The indexer, apparently fascinated by the "Bechhofer," records it twice, but makes no mention of Mr. Roberts.

Names are misspelled (*Sweig* for *Zweig*, p. 343); married ladies are obscured under their husbands' names (*Mrs. Hugh Walker* for *Mrs. Janie (Roxburgh) Walker*, p. 347); title entries are omitted (*The Genius of Dickens*, pp. 80, 101, 103; *The Lawyers of Dickens*, p. 112; *The Immortal Dickens*, p. 119). Inconsistencies such as indexing *Our Mutual Friend in Manuscript* as "Mutual Friend in Manuscript, Our," although there are three entries of *Our Mutual Friend* without the inversion, are frequent and confusing.

Utterly useless entries are frequent, and the more annoying since they follow no common pattern. For instance, the index lists "Homer, 124." The entry referred to is "Dickens. The Heart. *Titans of Literature.* From Homer to the present. . . ." The index also lists "Conrad, Joseph, 119," the reference being "Dickens and the Folk-Imagination. *A Century of the English Novel.* . . . . from the heyday of Scott to the death of Conrad." Scott was ignored by the indexer. So was Hardy in a similar reference on page 120.

Then there are references that lead nowhere, like "Thackeray, Anne, 51. *See also* Lady Ritchie." There is no entry under Lady Ritchie or Ritchie, Lady. And absurd ones like "'Samuel Weller,' 127, 180. *See also* Songs." The page references are inaccurate, and the index under "Songs" refers to something else, and if you want to sing about "Samuel Weller" you'll have to consult another reference book.

Just one more, which illustrates many things, and is fairly

funny to boot. Miller lists on page 124 this item: "Carlo Dickens. *L'Umousmo* [*sic*] *e gli Umoristi,* ed Altri Saggi. Milano: . . . 1932 . . . ." The correct title is *L'Umorismo e gli umoristi ed altri saggi* (translated *Humor and the Humorists, and Other Critical Essays*) and the author is Silvio Spaventa Filippi, indexed in the *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature* under "Filippi," and in the Library of Congress card index under "Spaventa Filippi, Silvio." The "noble index," mistaking a part of the title for the editor of the essays, enters this one under "Saggi, Altri, 124." It lists no author except the obscure Mr. Other Critical Essays.

We could go on. We really could. But perhaps we have said enough to indicate that the value of Mr. Miller's effort, whatever it may be, is not materially augmented by the section which should have contributed most substantially to its usefulness.

Mr. Miller's book at very least suggests a task ahead to which it contributes a good deal by way of titles, and even more by way of incentive. We conclude as we commenced this paper with the thought that the job is worth doing. Within the past decade the biography by Dame Una Pope-Hennessey, the writings of Ellis Gummer and George Orwell in England and of Houtchens, Grubb and Wilson in America attest not only a new interest in Dickens but a recognition of the vast amount of work yet to be done. We have no wish to condemn or to discourage any research, however inexpert, in so rich a field, whether by Straus' "old duffer" or by the greenest of students. When the admirers of Mr. Pickwick cease trailing the Club around London, he will have lost something of his reality; when the doctors and lawyers stop writing about their counterparts in the Dickensian world, the scholars and critics will have lost their audience.

A complete and usable list of Dickensiana would be grist for a score of mills. Their product in turn will add stature and warmth and meaning to one of the great names in our cultural heritage.

APPENDIX I

A LIST OF SOME SOURCES TO BE CONSULTED IN COMPILING A BIBLIOGRAPHY OF DICKENSIANA[1]

I. *Bibliographies of Bibliographies, including:*

1. Theodore Besterman, *A World Bibliography of Bibliographies.* London, Printed for the author at the University Press, Oxford, 1939-1940. 2 Vols.
2. Clark Sutherland Northup, *A Register of Bibliographies of the English Language and Literature.* New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925.
3. Nathan Van Patten, . . . *An Index to Bibliographies and Bibliographical Contributions Relating to the Work of American and British Authors, 1923-1932.* Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, 1934.

II. *General Bibliographies of English Literature, including:*

4. Modern Humanities Research Association, *Annual Bibliography of English Language and Literature . . . [1920-]1938.* Cambridge, Bowes & Bowes, [etc.], 1921-1940, Vols. [I]-XIX.
5. Albert C. Baugh, *English Language and Literature,* in: *American Bibliography for 1921[-1945],* in: Modern Language Association of America, *Publications.* Vols. XXXVII-XLVI (Nos. 1, March 1922-March 1931), Vols. XLVI-LX (Supplements, 1931-1945, March 1932-March 1946).
6. William D. Templeman, *Bibliographies of Studies in Victorian Literature for the Thirteen Years 1932-1944.* Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1945.
7. Charles F. Harrold, *Victorian Bibliography for 1945,* in: *Modern Philology.* XLIII:260-276 (No. 4, May 1946).

III. *National and Trade Bibliographies, including:*

8. *Whitaker's Cumulative Book List . . . . A Classified List of Publications.* London, Whitaker, 1924 - . (First cumulation and annual volumes thereafter.)

[1] It is not suggested that any of this material ought to be included in such a bibliography. In any event, this list is a selective one limited to those important English and American sources which we found included a substantial number of items unlisted in Miller. Students interested in foreign, or more specialized sources, should consult appropriate sections of one or more of the following books: Tom Peete Cross, *Bibliographical Guide to English Studies,* 9th Ed. Chicago, University of Chicago Press [1947]. Arthur G. Kennedy, *Concise Bibliography for Students of English* 2nd Ed. Stanford University, California, Stanford University Press; London, H. Milford, Oxford University Press, [1945]. John W. Spargo, *Bibliographical Manual for Students of the Language and Literature of England and the United States; A Short-Title List,* 2nd Ed. Chicago, Packard and Company, [1941].

9. *The American Catalogue of Books . . . July 1, 1876 [- December 31, 1910]*. New York, Publishers' Weekly, 1876-1910. 21 Vols. in 15.
10. *United States Catalog: Books in Print 1899 . . . .* Minneapolis, H. W. Wilson, 1900, 2 Vols. in 1, and its editions and their supplements to date, including,
11. *United States Catalog: Books in Print, January 1, 1928*. Edited by Mary Burnham. Fourth Edition. New York, Wilson, 1928.
12. *Cumulative Book Index, A World List of Books in the English Language, 1928-1932* (and the successive supplements to the *United States Catalog* under the same title). New York, Wilson, 1933 -.

IV. *Indexes to Periodical Literature, including:*

A. General

13. [Index to Early American Periodicals, 1728-1870 (on cards at the Washington Square Library of New York University).]
14. *Poole's Index to Periodical Literature, 1802-1881*. Revised edition. Boston, Houghton, 1891. 2 Vols.
    ——— Supplements, January 1882 - January 1, 1907. Boston, Houghton [c1887-1908]. 5 Vols.
15. Review of Reviews, *Index to the Periodicals of 1890[-1902]*. London & New York, Review of Reviews, 1891-1903. Volumes [I]-XIII.[2]
16. *Annual Literary Index, 1892[-1904]*. New York, Publishers' Weekly, 1893-1905. 13 Vols.
17. *Annual Library Index, 1905[-1910]*. New York, Publishers' Weekly, 1906-1911. 6 Vols.
18. *Nineteenth Century Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1890-1899, with Supplementary Indexing, 1900-1922*. New York, Wilson, 1944. 2 Vols.
19. *Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, 1900-*. New York, Wilson, 1905-.
20. *International Index to Periodicals, 1907-*. New York, Wilson, 1916-.
21. *Magazine Subject Index, 1907-*. Boston, Faxon, 1908-. Volume 2-, annual supplements have title *Annual Magazine Subject Index*.
22. *Subject Index to Periodicals*, 1915-1922; 1926-. London, The Library Association, 1919-.

B. Special

23. *Art Index*, January 1929-. New York, Wilson, 1933-.
24. *Education Index*, January 1929-. New York, Wilson, 1932-.

[2] Most items in this index are listed in Miller. The reference is included in this appendix as an example of an index covering British material not indexed in Poole or the *Nineteenth Century Readers' Guide*.

V. *Special Indexes, including:*

A. Indexes to Essays and General Literature

25 *A.L.A. Index . . . to General Literature.* 2nd Edition. Enlarged. Boston, Houghton, 1901.

——— Supplement 1900-1910. Chicago, American Library Association, 1914.

26. *Essay and General Literature Index, 1900-1933: An Index to about 40,000 Essays and Articles in 2144 Volumes of Essays and Miscellaneous Works.* Edited by Minnie Earl Sears and Marian Shaw. New York, Wilson, 1934.

——— Supplements. New York, Wilson, 1934-.

B. Indexes to Doctoral Dissertations

27. United States. Library of Congress. Catalog Division, . . . *A List of American Doctoral Dissertations Printed in 1912* [*-1938*]. Washington, Government Printing Office, 1913-1940. 27 Vols.

28. *Doctoral Dissertations Accepted by American Universities, 1933/1934-.* New York, Wilson, 1934-. Number 1-.

VI. *Library Catalogues,*[3] *including:*

29. British Museum. Department of Printed Books. *Subject Index of Modern Works Added to the Library of the British Museum in the Years 1881-1900.* London, Printed by Order of the Trustees, 1902-1903. 3 Vols.[4]

——— ———. Eight quinquennial supplements published in 1906, 1911, 1918, 1922, 1927, 1933, 1937 and 1944.

30. Peabody Institute, Baltimore. *Library, Catalogue* [*and Second Catalogue*] *of the Library.* Baltimore, 1883-1905. 13 Vols.

31. Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. *Catalogue of Printed Books Bequeathed by John Forster.* London, 1888.

32. Victoria and Albert Museum, South Kensington. *Catalogue of the Printings, Manuscripts, etc., Bequeathed by John Forster.* London, 1893.

[3] As the printed library catalogue has become less frequently used in this country, the student would be well advised to supplement this list at least by an examination of the card catalogues of some of the larger libraries, including particularly those at Yale and Harvard, The Library of Congress and the New York Public Library.

[4] The earlier volumes are more often met with than *Charles Dickens: An Excerpt from the General Catalogue of Printed Books in the British Museum.* London, William Clowes and Sons, 1926—Miller, p. 279; the later volumes supplement that work.

APPENDIX II

SOME SPECIAL SOURCES OF DICKENSIANA AND DICKENS BIBLIOGRAPHY NOT INCLUDED IN THE BIBLIOGRAPHICAL SECTION OF MILLER'S BOOK

I. *Some Bibliographies of Dickensiana*

A. General

33. *The Dickensian.* Edited by B. W. Matz and others. London, Chapman & Hall, 1905 -.[1]

34. *Bibliography of F. G. Kitton's Writings on Dickens* in: *The Dickensian,* I:245-6. (No. 9, September 1905.)

35. John Alexander Hamerton, *The Dickens Companion.* London, The Educational Book Co. [1910]. (Vol. XVIII of *The Charles Dickens Library.*) This contains a short-title list of books and periodical literature, and a list of biographies, reminiscences, etc., which mention Dickens. (Listed by Miller under Division I, *Personal,* p. 48.)

36. Bath (England) Municipal Libraries. *Charles Dickens. List of Works, Criticisms, etc., Dickensiana, Bibliography and Illustrations in Books and Periodicals in the Libraries.* (Municipal Libraries Subject List No. 1.) Bath, 1926.

37. Dickens Fellowship. *Charles Dickens. A Selected List of Books Dealing with Dickensian Literature compiled . . . by the Dickens Fellowship.* 2nd Ed. London, National Book Council, 1928. (Bibliography No. 47.)

38. F. J. Harvey Darton, *Charles Dickens (1812-1870)* in: Frederick W. Bateson, *The Cambridge Bibliography of English Literature.* New York, The Macmillan Company; Cambridge, England, The University Press, 1941. III:435-455.

B. Special

39. Frederic G. Kitton, *Catalogue of the Portraits of Charles Dickens,* in: his *Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil and A Supplement to Charles Dickens by Pen and Pencil.* London, Frank T. Sabin, 1890, 2:[i]-xvi.[2]

40. Percy Fitzgerald, *Bibliography of "Pickwick,"* in: his *The History of Pickwick. An Account of Its Characters, Localities, Allusions and Illustrations.* London, Chapman and Hall, 1891. pp. [357]-375.[3]

41. Frederic G. Kitton, *Pseudo-Dickens Rarities,* in: *The Athenaeum.* No. 3646, pp. 355-356. (September 11, 1897.)[4]

[1] This publication is noted by Miller (p. 41) but not in the bibliographical section, and no mention is made of the fact that it includes in each issue a list of Dickensiana and editions of Dickens' writings appearing since the previous issue.

[2] The book is listed in Miller, under Division I, *Personal,* p. 28.

[3] The book is listed in Miller, under Division I, *Personal,* p. 27.

[4] The article is listed in Miller, under Division I, *Personal,* p. 34.

42. James T. Lightwood, *A List of Songs and Instrumental Music Mentioned by Dickens, with Historical Notes;* and *A List of Vocal and Instrumental Music Associated with the Characters in His Novels,* in: his *Charles Dickens and Music.* London, Charles H. Kelly [1912], pp. 135-163; and pp. 172-177.[5]
43. Bertram W. Matz, *Writings Wrongly Attributed to Dickens,* in: *The Dickensian.* 21:128-132 (No. 2, April, 1925).[6]
44. Thomas Hatton, *A Bibliographical List of the Original Illustrations to the Works of Charles Dickens Being Those Made under His Supervision,* in: *Retrospectus and Prospectus. The Nonesuch Dickens.* Bloomsbury, The Nonesuch Press, 1937, pp. 55-78.
45. T. W. Hill, *A Catalogue of the Miller Collection of Music at the Dickens House,* in: *The Dickensian.* XXXVII:48-54. (Winter Number, 1940-1941.)

II. *Some Notable Catalogues (Sales, Auctions, Exhibitions, Libraries, etc.) Containing Material on Dickens or Dickensiana or Both*

46. Harry B. Smith, *A Sentimental Library, Comprising Books Formerly Owned by Famous Writers, Presentation Copies, Manuscripts and Drawings, Collected and Described by Harry B. Smith.* [New York], Privately Printed [by the DeVinne Press], 1914.
47. Edwin W. Coggeshall, *Dickens Collection . . . . from the Library of Mr. Edwin W. Coggeshall of New York.* New York, The Anderson Galleries [1916]. 2 Vols.
48. Ralph T. Jupp, *The Dickens Collection of Books, Manuscripts and Relics Formed by the Late Dr. R. T. Jupp of London . . . .* New York, The Anderson Galleries, 1922.
49. William Glyde Wilkins, . . . *The Dickens Collection of the late William Glyde Wilkins of Pittsburgh, Pa. . . .* New York, The Anderson Galleries, 1922.
50. George Barr McCutcheon, *The Renowned Collection of First Editions of Charles Dickens and William Makepeace Thackeray, Formed by George Barr McCutcheon . . . .* New York, American Art Association, Inc. [1926].
51. Thomas Hatton, *The Renowned Collection of the Works of Charles Dickens Formed by Thomas Hatton of Leicester, England . . . .* New York, American Art Association, Inc. [1927].
52. Edward C. Daoust, *The Works of Charles Dickens: First and Subsequent Editions in Their Original Bindings as Issued . . . .* Collection

[5] The book is listed in Miller, under Division II, *Critical,* p. 111.

[6] An earlier printing in *Chambers's Journal* is listed in Miller, under Division II, *Critical,* p. 119.

Formed by Mr. and Mrs. Edward C. Daoust . . . . New York, American Art Association, Inc. 1929.

53. Frederick W. Lehmann, . . . *A Charles Dickens Collection of Superlative Merit and Equally Fine First Editions of American and English Authors: the Library of the Honorable Frederick W. Lehmann, St. Louis, Mo.* New York, American Art Association, Anderson Galleries, 1930.
54. Charles J. Sawyer, Ltd., *London, . . . Charles Dickens, 1812-70. First & Collected Editions, Autograph Letters, Personal Relics.* London, C. J. Sawyer, Ltd. [1931].
55. Thomas Hatton, *Catalogue of the Important Collections Mainly of the Writings of Charles Dickens and of Other XIX Century Authors, Forming Part of the Library of Thomas Hatton, Esq., at Anstey Pastures, Leicester* . . . . London, J. Davy & Sons, Ltd. [1931].
56. *Catalogue of the Library of Charles Dickens from Gadshill* . . . . Edited by J. H. Stonehouse. London, Piccadilly Fountain Press, 1935.
57. Charles J. Sawyer, *A Dickens Library: Exhibition Catalogue of the Sawyer Collection of the Works of Charles Dickens, Comprising Manuscripts, Autograph Letters, Presentation Copies, the Issues in Original Parts, Dickensiana, etc.* [Letchworth, The Garden City Press], Privately Printed, 1936.
58. Charles J. Sawyer, Ltd., *London, . . . A Remarkable Dickens Collection Comprising Original Manuscripts, Presentation Copies, a Complete Set of the Issues in Original Parts, Bound Copies of First Editions, Dickensiana, etc.* London, C. J. Sawyer, Ltd., [1938].
59. Comte de Suzannet, *The "Dickens" Collection of the Comte de Suzannet, A Further Portion, Mostly Letters and Mss.* London, Sotheby, 1938.

The Proofs of *Gareth and Lynette* in the Widener Collection

By Edgar F. Shannon, Jr.

In the Widener Collection of the Harvard College Library there are proof sheets of Tennyson's idyll, *Gareth and Lynette*, which bear the poet's autograph corrections and with which are bound ninety-seven holograph lines of the poem. Since these proofs seem to have been unknown to Tennyson's bibliographers, it is my purpose to describe them, to attempt to establish their place in the development of the text of the idyll, and to transcribe the lines of manuscript.

The short description of the proofs in the printed catalogues of the Widener Collection,[1] referring to a note penciled on a preliminary leaf, would lead one to believe that they were proofs for the English first edition, *Gareth and Lynette*, 1872. Comparison with that edition, however, reveals that the type, page-size, and paper are not the same. The next possibility, the American first edition, differs in the same and other respects. Further investigation shows that the ornaments, type, and paper of the Widener proofs are identical with those of *Gareth and Lynette* in the fifth volume of the Library Edition of Tennyson's works.[2] Also the

[1] Harry Elkins Widener, *A Catalogue of . . . the Library of Harry Elkins Widener* (Philadelphia, Privately printed, 1910), p. 214; A. S. W. Rosenbach, *A Catalogue of the Books and Manuscripts of Harry Elkins Widener* (Philadelphia, Privately printed, 1918), II: 239.

[2] The Library Edition was published in six volumes by Strahan and Co. The first four appeared by June 15, 1872 (*The Publishers' Circular and General Record of British and Foreign Literature*, XXXV:82; 145; 274; 382 [1872]); the last two were issued in January, 1873 and were dated 1873 (*The Publishers' Circular*, XXXVI 77 [1873]).

Thomas J. Wise (in *A Bibliography of the Writings of Alfred, Lord Tennyson* [London, Privately printed, 1908]) persists in calling this edition the Imperial Li-

entries in *Book-Prices Current* and *Book-Auction Records* of the sale of these proofs in the auction at Sotheby's of the library of Sir Stuart Montagu Samuel, July 1, 1907, state that they were proofs for the Library Edition and thus confirm the evidence of inspection.[3] The fifth volume of the Library Edition, along with the sixth, was published between January 17 and 31, 1873.[4] The Widener proofs of *Gareth and Lynette* bear autograph dates as early as October 22, 1872; and it is their date that makes them of special interest and significance.

The following is a bibliographical description of the Widener proofs, which are folded sheets printed from imposed pages of type:

Collation: Demy 8vo (8⅝″ x 5⅝″); pp. [37]-122 (pagination as printed begins on the verso of the second leaf with 36, runs consecutively through 44, jumps to 49, and thereafter is regular through 122; corrected in ink to read 40 through 48);[5] consisting of: [ornament: 5 x 42 mm.] Sectional half-title, "GARETH AND LYNETTE.," [ornament: 4 x 11 mm.] with verso blank pp. [37-38]; Text pp. [39]-122 (with head-piece: two birds on oak boughs 17 x 66 mm. [within a rule], heading: "GARETH AND LYNETTE." p. [39]; tail-piece: triangular device of flower and leaves 18 x 26 mm., just below center of page, no imprint p. 122).

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brary Edition, but I can find no justification for so doing. It was referred to by Tennyson in the prefatory note to *Gareth and Lynette* as the Library Edition, and was advertised by its publishers and recorded in *The Publishers' Circular* by that name. The Imperial Library Edition was published by Tennyson's new publishers, Henry S. King and Co., in 1877, in seven volumes. Wise calls this edition a "re-issue." Even casual examination shows variations between the six volumes of the Library Edition and the first six of the Imperial Library Edition. More investigation than Wise has made is necessary to determine whether the 1877 version is in part a reissue or a new edition. The seventh volume of the Imperial Library Edition is, of course, an entirely new undertaking with its type and ornaments differing from those of the other six volumes.

[3] *Book-Prices Current*, XXI: 652 (1907); *Book-Auction Records*, IV: 558 (1906-1907). The proofs (lot 173) were bought by Sabin in the Samuel sale. How they came into Samuel's possession or the exact method of their transfer to the library of the young Harry Widener is yet to be discovered.

[4] *The Publishers' Circular*, XXXVI: 77 (1873).

[5] Apparently the compositor forgot to allow for the two sectional half-title leaves between the end of *The Coming of Arthur* and the text of *Gareth and Lynette*. The discrepancy must have been detected after the imposition of the pages of D gathering, for the correct pagination begins on E_1.

Signatures: [D]^{8} (D_{1-2} wanting) E-I^{8} (I_{6-8} wanting).[6] Only the first leaf of each gathering is signed.

It is to be noted that in the Widener proofs the half-title of *Gareth and Lynette* is on D_3, with the idyll ending on I_5^{v} and the paginary numerals being [37]-122. In the published volume, which corresponds to these proofs page for page, the half-title is on D_4, the idyll ends on I_6^{v}, and the pagination is [39]-124. Obviously a leaf was added to the matter preceding *Gareth and Lynette* after these proofs were pulled. Proofs for volumes V and VI of the Library Edition originally belonging to Sir James Knowles[7] make it possible to determine what the addition was. Dated from October 23 to December 2, 1872, the Knowles proofs are concurrent with the Widener proofs. The pagination of the *Gareth and Lynette* section is the same. In the sheets preceding it, the dedication occupies pages 1-4, and the text of *The Coming of Arthur* begins on page 7, all in conformity with the published volume; but that idyll ends on page 34 in the proofs and on page 36 in the published version. Thus the addition was made in *The Coming of Arthur* and undoubtedly was the war song of the knights, which in the Library Edition occupies all but four lines of page 34 and all of page 35. This idyll, without the song, first appeared in *The Holy Grail*, 1870 (published in December, 1869). Tennyson recorded in his letter-diary on November 6, 1872, "I am trying to write a war song for the knights in the first 'Idyll.'"[8] He had apparently finished it by November 10, since he wrote under that date, "I must say that to me the song rings like grand

[6] D_{1-2} comprised the last leaf of *The Coming of Arthur* and the sectional half-title leaf bearing "THE ROUND TABLE." followed by a list of the eight idylls making up that section. I_{6-8} became the sectional half-title leaf and first two leaves of *Geraint and Enid*.

[7] Sold at Sotheby's to Maggs, the Knowles sale, May 2, 1928, lot 571. I have not seen these proofs and am following the description of them in Sotheby's *Catalogue of Valuable Printed Books and Literary Manuscripts, . . . Comprising the Property of the Countess of Scarbrough; . . . the Lady Gerard; . . . the Late Sir James Knowles*, p. 86.

[8] Hallam Tennyson, *Alfred Lord Tennyson: A Memoir by His Son* (London and New York, The Macmillan Company, 1897), II: 117.

music."[9] He forwarded it from Aldworth, with an undated letter, to Sir James Knowles, who was attending to the progress of the last two volumes of the Library Edition at the press, saying, "The Great Lords, the occasion given for the Song, immediately reconciled my wife to it: so I send it to you to see it through the press."[10] The insertion of the song necessitated reimposing the pages following page 33 through *Gareth and Lynette* and whatever remainder of the fifth volume had been imposed.

The Widener proofs have headlines throughout. Beginning with page 40(36),[11] "GARETH AND" appears on the verso of each leaf and "LYNETTE." on the recto following. On page 97 (H_1) the full title, "GARETH AND LYNETTE.," comprises the headline and continues to do so on both recto and verso of each leaf through the last. (In the published volume the full title appears in the headline of each page.) The headlines on the recto pages 97-103 (H_{1-4}) display inverted capital *Y*'s for *A*'s, making them read "GɅRETH ɅND LYNETTE." and those on the rectos from page 105 (H_5) through 121 (I_5) inclusive have inverted *X*'s in place of the *Y*'s. Undoubtedly the compositor ran short of capital *A*'s of the proper font. The headlines on the versos, pages 98-122, read correctly. Tennyson drew a vertical line through the *Y*'s and *X*'s. There are triple impressions of the paginary numerals of pages 84, 98, 113; double impressions of those on pages 51, 65, 72, 81, and 102.

Besides the corrections of the page numerals and headlines, twenty autograph emendations, all in ink, appear on the proofs. They include a few changes in punctuation, lines where a word is struck out and another written over it, and other lines where a possible substitution in word or phrase is written over the printed line or in the margin without the print having been struck out.

[9] *Ibid.*

[10] The Knowles sale, lot 589; Sotheby's *Catalogue*, p. 89.

[11] Where it is necessary to refer to the pages that were incorrectly numbered in the Widener proofs, the corrected number is given first, and the number that was actually printed, in parentheses.

Typical of Tennyson's tentative emendations in the Widener proofs is a passage of two lines on page 73, lines 3-4:

> By bandits, everyone that owns a tower
> The Lord for half a league. Why sit ye there?

Over "By" he wrote "With" and encircled it but did not strike out "By." Through "The" and "half" he drew lines; and over the question, "Why sit ye there?," without deleting it, he inserted "w^{d} that I were king" and then lined out "I were king." Presumably the revised version would have been:

> With bandits, everyone that owns a tower
> Lord for a league. Would that I were king.

But in spite of the projected alterations the passage appears in the Library Edition as it was printed in the Widener proofs.

Another substitution indicated in the proofs, but not incorporated in the published version, shows the poet's concern over a line in the three lines of Lynette's song apostrophizing the birds. The third line of the song was printed in the proofs:

> Sing sweetly: twice my love hath smiled on me."
> (p. 101, l. 9)

and emended to read:

> Be merry for twice my love hath smiled on me."

In the proofs for the English first edition now in the Wrenn Library of the University of Texas (undoubtedly earlier than the Widener proofs) the line had run:

> Sing merrily; twice my love hath smiled on me."[12]
> (p. 65, l. 5)

"Merrily" was deleted and "sweetly" written in.

There are three typographical errors in the text, plus a failure to make a paragraph indention,[13] which indicate that at least the

[12] I have been able to examine a microfilm of these proofs through the kindness of Miss Fannie Ratchford of the Wrenn Library.

[13] The *i* of "if" failed to print, p. [39] (35), l. 6; "ylain" for "plain," p. 55, l. 15; "taken" for "token," p. 61, l. 15; no paragraph indention at line beginning "Then Kay," p. 66, l. 2. All of these were marked for correction by Tennyson and are included in the total of twenty emendations.

gatherings in which they occur (D-F) were probably the first proofs taken for this section of the fifth volume of the Library Edition, and that they were sent directly to Tennyson without waiting for the press reader's corrections to be made. In addition to the twenty emendations, there are ten instances in which Tennyson reinforced, with pen and ink, commas, semicolons, and quotation marks that were actually printed but apparently not heavily enough to suit him. Nevertheless, with one exception (p. 115, l. 11), he did not call attention to these with proofreading symbols in the margin.

The following dates are written in the corner of the head and outer margins on the recto of the first leaf of each gathering except D, in which the first two leaves are wanting:

(1). Oct. 22, 1872. — E_1 (p. 49);
(1). Oct. 22, 1872. — F_1 (p. 65);
(1) Oct 27 1872 — G_1 (p. 81);[14]
(2). Nov. 7, 1872 — H_1 (p. 97);
(2). Nov. 7, 1872. — I_1 (p. 113);

It seems possible that these are Tennyson's dates of receipt of each gathering, the sheets being sent to him one or two at a time soon after the pages were imposed, rather than all together after the entire poem had been set up.

The proofs are bound by Rivière[15] in full red morocco with gold tooling, top edges gilt, and marbled end papers. Both the vertical and horizontal dimensions of the leaves vary, so that the fore and tail edges of the leaves do not coincide and the bolts show that they were opened. Although both *Book-Prices Current* and *Book-Auction Records* describe the proofs as "uncut," there seems to have been some trimming; and there is a trimmed sliver about seven-eighths of an inch long still hanging to the outer edge of

[14] This date is probably not in the poet's autograph. The color of the ink differs from that of the other dates, there is no punctuation, and the numerals do not appear to be formed in the same way as in the other dates.

[15] "Bound by Riviere" is stamped in the outer corner of the tail edge of the verso of the front end leaf.

E_1. Nevertheless, the dimensions of the pages are slightly greater than those of the Library Edition.

The verso of the front end leaf carries the following penciled (and unpunctuated) note in an unknown hand:

> Lord Tennyson's own copy of the Proof Sheets of "Gareth & Lynette" Together with part of *the original rough draft of the manuscript* differing somewhat from the printed version The Manuscript comprises *about 95 lines of mss. poetry* & there are also a number of corrections & additions in the text.

The holograph lines bound with the proof sheets do not comprise a consecutive section of the poem. The paper of the manuscript now appears to be gray. The portions of manuscript (in only one instance a full page) have been inlaid into a cream paper of lighter weight than that of the proofs, and the leaves thus formed are bound so that the manuscript lines are approximately juxtaposed with the corresponding printed lines. The variations between the proofs and the holograph passages show that the latter represent a very early state of the text and that the proofs cannot have been set up from them, but any final conclusion as to whether or not they are parts of the original rough draft can be reached only by comparison with the manuscripts in the possession of the Tennyson family.[16]

Since some of these early readings may be of value to students of Tennyson's methods of composition and of the development of the text of this idyll, the holograph lines are transcribed along with the corresponding passages from the Widener proofs at the conclusion of this article.

II

A review of the facts regarding the publication of the English and the American first editions and collation of their texts with that of the Widener proofs makes it possible to bring to light considerable information concerning the chronology of these three

[16] See Charles Tennyson, *Tennyson Papers, III The Idylls of the King* in: *The Cornhill Magazine*, CLIII: 534-557 (1936).

versions, and Tennyson's procedure in readying the two first editions and fifth volume of the Library Edition for the press.

The English first edition, entitled *Gareth and Lynette, Etc.*,[17] which included *The Last Tournament*, previously published in *The Contemporary Review*,[18] appeared in October, 1872, not in December as T. J. Wise says,[19] for the volume is recorded by *The Publishers' Circular* in the list of books published between the 16th and 31st of that month.[20] Since Strahan advertised it on October 1 and again on the 16th[21] to be ready on the 24th, it is likely that it was offered for sale on that date. The first American edition, *Gareth and Lynette*, 1872, which did not contain *The Last Tournament*, was set up, as the verso of its title leaf testifies, from advance sheets. No doubt intended to be issued simultaneously with the English edition, it probably came out a day or two later. First announced in *The Publishers' and Stationers' Weekly Trade Circular*, October 24, 1872, as "forthcoming,"[22] it is listed as "just published" in the issue of October 31.[23] One of the two copies in the Harvard College Library has the original bookplate stating that it is a gift of the publishers and received, "26 October 1872." Previously undescribed, so far as I am aware, the make-up of the American edition is as follows:

GARETH AND LYNETTE. | BY | ALFRED TENNYSON, D. C. L., | POET-LAUREATE. | WITH ILLUSTRATIONS. | [ornament: stringed musical instrument and scroll 36 x 28 mm.] | BOSTON: | JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY, | Late Ticknor & Fields, and Fields, Osgood, & Co. | 1872.

[17] For a bibliographical description of this volume, see Wise, *Bibliography*, I: 221. He fails to mention the gathering of five leaves of advertisements at the end of the book which appears to have been printed on the same sheet with the [A] gathering of three leaves.

[18] XIX: 1-22 (December, 1871).

[19] *Bibliography*, I: 222.

[20] XXXV: 714 (1872).

[21] *Ibid.*: 632; 677.

[22] New Series, III: 408 (1872).

[23] *Ibid.*: 460.

Collation: 12mo (6⅞" x 4½"): pp. [1]-96; consisting of: Advertisement of editions of Tennyson by Osgood with blank verso pp. [1-2]; Blank recto with frontispiece[24] on verso (tissue protecting leaf glued to verso) pp. [3-4]; Title, as above, with verso as follows: AUTHOR'S EDITION. | FROM ADVANCE SHEETS. | | | Entered according to Act of Congress, in the year 1872, | BY JAMES R. OSGOOD AND COMPANY, | in the office of the Librarian of Congress, at Washington. | | | UNIVERSITY PRESS: WELCH, BIGELOW, & Co., | CAMBRIDGE. pp. [5-6]; List of illustrations with engraving of knight's helmet 40 x 30 mm. on verso pp. [7-8]; Half-title with author's prefatory note on verso[25] pp. [9-10]; Text pp. [11]-96 (with tail ornament: castle on a hilltop 40 x 43 mm. and imprint below letterpress on p. 96).[26]

Signatures: Unsigned (1-2⁶ 3-5¹²).

Issued in green cloth; gold stamped on front cover: G[initial ornament of knight's helmet] ARETH | AND LYNETTE | ALFRED TENNYSON | ILLUSTRATED; center of back cover blind stamped: wheel and flower device 70 x 50 mm.; vertically along spine [within gold fillets with volutes at head and tail] GARETH AND LYNETTE. All edges cut.[27]

Since the American first edition was composed from advance sheets, it obviously represents a state of the text earlier than the English first edition. The approximately simultaneous publication of the two editions seems to obviate any chance that Tennyson saw or revised the proofs of the American edition. The printing of line 10, page 47, a syllable short and the addition of the monosyllabic word "such" to the next line constitute an error that

[24] Engraving, picturing Lynette's outraged departure from Arthur's throne after the king had granted her quest to Gareth, entitled, "Fie on thee, King!"

[25] "WITH this poem the Author concludes THE IDYLS OF THE KING.

"GARETH follows THE COMING OF ARTHUR, and THE LAST TOURNAMENT precedes GUINEVERE."

[26] "Cambridge: Electrotyped and Printed by Welch, Bigelow, & Co."

[27] The unpublished records of James R. Osgood and Co., now in the Harvard College Library, show that five thousand copies struck from electrotype comprised the edition. The sheets on which they were printed were 21½ x 38 inches and four formes were used. From this information, together with the measurements of the leaves, it is not difficult to deduce that the printing was on a double sheet with both the inner and outer formes of a 12mo gathering on the press at the same time. The cost of the electrotyping and engraving for the illustrations was $307.43; the paper, $271.95; the press work, $80; and the binding, $925. Six hundred twenty-five dollars were spent for advertising, making the total cost of the edition $2,209.38. This figure amounted to an average cost of 44 cents for a copy that sold for $1.25. (Cost of Publication Book F, p. 301; entered under date, October 25, 1872.)

could not have escaped the poet's eye. Furthermore, the prefatory note on the American edition began by saying, "WITH this poem the Author concludes THE IDYLS OF THE KING." Although a similar statement is extant in a manuscript of the note and in the Butler proofs, it was deleted before the appearance of the English edition.[28]

There are numerous differences between the texts of the American and English first editions. Most of these are palpable results of change of typographical style or spelling to conform to American practice, though some, in matters of punctuation, hyphenating of words, and the like, may arise from Tennyson's later changes for the English edition.

The variations in spelling of "liever" in the American edition (p. 66, l. 4) and "liefer" in the English (p. 59, l. 4) cannot be attributed to American editing, since the reading in the Wrenn proofs (p. 57, l. 4) and the Widener proofs (p. 93, l. 6) is "liever." Also while "liever" stood in two lines of *Enid* in the unpublished volume *Enid and Nimuë: The True and the False*, 1857, it became "liefer" in the same lines in *Geraint and Enid* in the Library Edition.[29]

As already implied, differences in punctuation between the two editions cannot be considered of much importance; for even in English editions, which Tennyson himself revised carefully, it is not clear that variations in punctuation are really meaningful. Professor Richard Jones, who made exhaustive collations of the

[28] Since the English edition was to contain both *Gareth* and *The Last Tournament*, the prefatory note in the MS. and proofs began, "WITH these two poems" instead of "WITH this poem" as in the American edition.

I have examined a microfilm of the MS. draft of the prefatory note now in the Wrenn Library. For a description of the Butler proofs, see Wise, I, 222-223, and *Book-Prices Current*, XLVIII: 704 (1934). See also note 31 below. These proofs (lot 561) went to Maggs in Hodgson's sale of the library of Herbert T. Butler, June 13, 1934.

[29] For the lines in *Enid*, see Richard Jones, *The Growth of the Idylls of the King* (Philadelphia, J. B. Lippincott Company, 1895), pp. 155n and 156n. See also the same readings in *Enid and Nimuë: The True and the False* (Guilford, The Astolat Press, 1902), p. 5, l. 7; p. 41, l. 19. The lines occur in the fifth volume of the Library Edition, p. 132, l. 4 and p. 176, l. 14.

various *Idylls*, though not of the texts with which we are concerned, concluded in *The Growth of the Idylls of the King* that, while there is evidence that Tennyson did mark changes in punctuation in his proofs and trial volumes, actually he gave "little heed to punctuation, the use of capital letters, and such-like niceties of composition."[30] Nevertheless, one discrepancy in punctuation between the English and American editions seems significant. In a passage on page 64 (ll. 8-10) in the American edition the interrogation mark is incorrectly placed:

> "Damsel, is this he,
> The champion ye have brought from Arthur's hall?
> For whom we let thee pass."

In the English edition (p. 57, ll. 11-13) there is a comma after "hall," and the interrogation mark appears at the end of the sentence:

> 'Damsel, is this he,
> The champion ye have brought from Arthur's hall,
> For whom we let thee pass?'

A reasonable inference is that the interrogation mark came after "hall" in the advance sheets sent from England, since it did so in the Wrenn proofs (p. 55, ll. 11-13), the Widener proofs (p. 91, ll. 11-13), and the Library Edition (p. 93, ll. 11-13).

In addition to these minor points of divergence between the two editions, there are two distinct verbal variations. In the American edition lines 11-14 of page 57 read:

> and cries
> Ascended, and there brake a servingman
> Flying from out of the black wood, and crying,
> "They have bound my lord to cast him in the mere."

In the English edition (p. 50, ll. 12-15) "shouts" was substituted for "cries," apparently to avoid repetition. In line 6, page 72 of the American edition,

> but he that would not fight,

reads in the English edition (p. 65, l. 7),

> but he that fought no more.

[30] Pages 156-157.

These variations in phraseology, as well as the deletion of the statement in the prefatory note that the poem concluded the *Idylls*, leave little doubt that Tennyson made changes for the English edition after the advance sheets had been sent to America.[31]

With the relationship of the English and American editions established, we are now prepared to consider the position of the Widener proofs. Since the fifth volume of the Library Edition was published three months later than the English edition of *Gareth and Lynette*, it might be supposed that the type for this poem in the collected works was set up from a copy of the first edition or from an impression from the type (or electrotype plates) in the state from which the first edition was printed. But the two gatherings of the Widener proofs bearing the date October 22 prove that at least the first three gatherings had been imposed before the publication of the first edition. The questions then arise whether the Widener proofs display variations from the text as published in the first edition, and if so, what their relation is to the American edition. Exclusive of the three typographical errors and the omission of the paragraph indention,[32] there are fifteen minor

[31] The "Trial-book" in which "Lynette" is spelled "Lineth," the Wrenn proofs, and the Butler proofs mentioned by Wise (I: 216-223) are of no value in establishing this point, since they all seem to be earlier than the text of the American edition. The passages which Wise quotes from the "Lineth" version indicate that it is the earliest of the three, as he maintains. The descriptions of the two sets of proofs in *An Appendix to the Rowfant Library* ([London, The Chiswick Press, 1900], p. 100) support Wise's statement that the Butler proofs are the latest of the proofs for the English first edition known to be extant, as do the headlines in them which are not in the Wrenn proofs. But Wise's assumption, based on faulty deduction, that they are the "final revise" can hardly be correct; and it is reasonably certain that they antedate the American text. I have been unable to examine the Butler proofs, but all of the extensive verbal alterations which appear on the facsimile of p. 71 which Wise reproduces (I, between 222 and 223) are incorporated in the text of the American edition.

It appears also that the Wrenn and Butler proofs are not successive proofs with the corrections to the first introduced into the text of the latter, as Wise says; for the printed text of p. 71 of both proofs is identical, though corrections have been made on this page of the Wrenn proofs. Possibly Tennyson began correcting the Wrenn proofs and shifted to the Butler proofs upon their arrival. If, as Wise says, the notation "These two Copies vary" appears in Tennyson's hand on the cover of both sets, the suggestion is that he had them in his possession at the same time.

[32] See note 13 above.

differences between the Widener proofs and the English edition —all of them details of punctuation, capitalization, hyphenating, or spelling. Some are manifestly the mistakes of the printer and could have come about in following the final English text. Some, when compared with the American edition, lead to no definite conclusion. The evidence is slight and confused by the possibilities of compositors' errors on both sides of the Atlantic, American editing, and Tennyson's corrections. But the agreement of the Widener proofs with the American edition in the case of the misplaced interrogation mark (p. 91, ll. 11-13) and the spelling of "liever" (p. 93, l. 6) instead of "liefer" argues strongly that the proofs are an earlier text than that of the English first edition, and were set up either before a few small alterations were made in the type for that edition or from a version in which these corrections had not been inserted.[33]

While apparently earlier than the English first edition, the text of the Widener proofs is clearly later than the advance sheets sent to America. The proofs have "shouts" (p. 84, l. 17) for the "cries" of the American edition and "he that fought no more" (p. 99, l. 12) for "he that would not fight."

A categorical statement cannot be made as to the exact procedure followed in the setting and correcting of the type for *Gareth and Lynette* in the Library Edition and the English first edition. Possibly the type for the Library Edition was composed as soon as the American advance sheets were struck off, or even earlier, and the corrections applied to the type for the first edition from Tennyson's proofs were concurrently made in the type for the Library Edition, up to a certain point. On the other hand, knowing Tennyson's methods of revising and altering, the publisher may more likely have waited to begin setting up the version for the collected edition until he thought the poem was in its final state. Regardless of the actual circumstances in this matter, the

[33] G gathering, in which the interrogation mark and "liever" appear, is dated October 27 and may have been composed after the first edition was published.

evidence of alterations in the poem remains; and the slightly variant text of the Widener proofs indicates that Tennyson made at least two successive revisions after the sheets for the first English edition had been dispatched to America.

The relationship between the Widener proofs and the published text of the fifth volume of the Library Edition remains for brief consideration. Of sixteen emendations, other than typographical, only seven appeared in the Library Edition. Also there are thirty changes in wording or punctuation in this edition which were not indicated in the Widener proofs.[34] Thus they cannot be the final proofs for the volume. Indeed, from the instances where words are written over a line with nothing in it expunged, and from one where a part of the corrected reading is scratched through, there is good reason to believe that they were never returned to the printer. Evidently such examples represent possible changes that came to Tennyson's mind but which he had not determined upon.

Study of the Widener proofs in conjunction with the other versions of *Gareth and Lynette* reveals the exacting revision to which Tennyson subjected his work after it was in print and helps to explain the delay in the publication of the last two volumes of the Library Edition. Strahan advertised them in *The Publishers' Circular* on September 17 to be ready "immediately,"[35] but on October 1 the notice of immediate publication was withdrawn and the following explanation accompanied the advertisement of the volumes: "In order to render this Edition quite complete, it has been

[34] Of the thirty changes, fourteen were in phraseology, all but one of them being substitutions of "you" and "thou" for "ye," and "wilt" for "will." The one exception was a clarification of the passage,

> At once Sir Lancelot's charger fiercely neigh'd,
> At once the black horse bounded forward with him.
> (Proofs, 120, 10-11)
> At once Sir Lancelot's charger fiercely neigh'd,
> And Death's dark war-horse bounded forward with him.
> (Lib. Ed., V: 122, 10-11)

[35] XXXV: 610 (1872).

enlarged to six volumes,[36] and will include the whole of Mr. Tennyson's forthcoming work."[37] The two volumes could not be issued until *Gareth and Lynette* and the revised version of *The Last Tournament* were brought out. Although Tennyson had put *Gareth* in the hands of the printer on July 9,[38] he was not satisfied with it for publication until late in October. Before the first edition had left the press, he was apparently already at work on the proofs of that idyll for the collected edition and made a number of changes in it. As has previously been shown, he added in November the war song of the knights to *The Coming of Arthur;* and he doubtless polished the text of other idylls. On December 9 Strahan promised the concluding volumes of the Library Edition "in a few days";[39] but late in December, the poet appended the epilogue, "To the Queen," writing to Knowles on December 27, "I sent you the final form of my 'To the Queen' yesterday & I must trust to your kindly care to see that Isbister prints it as sent."[40] Yet it was not the final form after all, for on the 31st he wrote again to Knowles, "I will send the Epilogue tomorrow with one or two slight alterations."[41] And thus it was that the long heralded fifth and sixth volumes of the Library Edition did not reach the public until mid-January. It is significant that, beginning with Tennyson's early rewriting of the poems of 1830 and 1833, his alterations and emendations generally increased the strength and clarity of his poetry.

[36] The edition was originally projected in five volumes.

[37] *The Publishers' Circular,* XXXV: 632 (1872).

[38] Hallam Tennyson, *A Memoir,* II: 113.

[39] *The Publishers' Circular,* XXXV: 830 (1872).

[40] The Knowles sale, lot 590; Sotheby's *Catalogue,* p. 90.

[41] The Knowles sale, lot 591; Sotheby's *Catalogue,* p. 90.

APPENDIX

In transcribing the manuscript, I have followed the system used by Dr. Walter W. Greg and Miss Eleanore Boswell in *Records of the Court of Stationers' Company, 1576 to 1602 ~ from Register B* (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1930). Mutilations in the original are indicated by pointed brackets, and the letters printed within them are somewhat conjectural. Words or phrases deleted in the original are printed in italics within square brackets. Additions in the original, either written between the lines or in the margin, are printed in roman type within square brackets. Explanatory comments, not appearing in the original, are in italics within parentheses. Page references for the manuscript and page and line references for the proofs are given in roman type within parentheses at the end of each passage.

MANUSCRIPT	WIDENER PROOFS
Bring a hunter, & a horse thou knowest— Broad brows & fair, a fluent hair & fine, High nose, a nostril large & fine, & hands Large, fair & fine — a man thou dost not know. There is a mystery in him. Sure am I, That, or from sheepcot or king's hall, the boy Is noble-natured. Treat him with all grace For fear he come to shame thy judgment of him.' (Between 64 and 65)	Then Lancelot standing near, 'Sir Seneschal, Sleuth-hound thou knowest, and gray, and all the hounds; A horse thou knowest, a man thou dost not know: Broad brows and fair, a fluent hair and fine, High nose, a nostril large and fine, and hands Large, fair and fine!—Some young lad's mystery— But, or from sheepcot or king's hall, the boy Is noble-natured. Treat him with all grace, Lest he should come to shame thy judging of him.' (65, 8 - 66, 1)
See thou that thine own fineness, some fine day, Undo thee not, but leave my man to me.' (Between 66 and 67)	but see thou to it That thine own fineness, Lancelot, some fine day Undo thee not—and leave my man to me.' (66, 7-9)
Then sought for gold to fee the news but found All empty & cried anon, my [,] (*comma deleted*) friend, anon. Then sought the king alone, & told him all: Make me thy knight in secret. let my name	This, Gareth hearing from a squire of Lot With whom he used to play at tourney once, When both were children, and in lonely haunts Would scratch a ragged oval on the sand, And each at either dash from either end— Shame never made girl redder than Gareth joy.

MANUSCRIPT

Be silent; grant me the first quest; I spring
Like flame from ashes'

And the king replied
{Fai}r son, the mother let me know thee here:
An{d} Lancelot needs must know, as one with me
In all that touches on our Table Round'
Let Lancelot know, said he, let Lancelot know
Thy noblest & thy best.
Then Arthur Why,
Son, wilt thy wish that men s^d wonder at thee?
[Fair nephew? for the sake of me their king]
[*For*] [And] the deed's sake my knighthood do the deed,
Not to be babbled of.'
But Gareth said
Uncle, I earn'd my cake in baking of it.'
So Arthur smiled & half unwillingly
Loving his lusty youthhood, yielded to him.
And by & bye there came into the hall
A damsel of high lineage, with a brow
May-white, a cheek of appleblossom, eyes
Hawk-keen; & saucily was her little nose
Tip-tilted like the petal of a flower
She into hall past with her page & cried.
(Between 72 and 73)[42]

WIDENER PROOFS

He laugh'd; he sprang. 'Out of the smoke, at once
I leap from Satan's foot to Peter's knee—
These news be mine, none other's—nay, the King's—
Descend into the city:' whereon he sought
The King alone, and found, and told him all.
'I have stagger'd thy strong Gawain in a tilt
For pastime; yea, he said it: joust can I.
Make me thy knight—in secret! let my name
Be hidd'n, and give me the first quest, I spring
Like flame from ashes.'

Fell on, and check'd, and made him flush, and bow
Lowly, to kiss his hand, who answer'd him,
'Son, the good mother let me know thee here,
And sent her wish that I would yield thee thine.
Make thee my knight? my knights are sworn to vows
Of utter hardihood, utter gentleness,
And, loving, utter faithfulness in love,
And uttermost obedience to the King.'

Then Gareth, lightly springing from his knees,
'My King, for hardihood I can promise thee.
For uttermost obedience make demand
Of whom ye gave me to, the Seneschal,
No mellow master of the meats and drinks!
And as for love, God wot, I love not yet,
But love I shall, God willing.'
And the King—
'Make thee my knight in secret? yea, but he,
Our noblest brother, and our truest man,
And one with me in all, he needs must know.'

'Let Lancelot know, my King, let Lancelot know,
Thy noblest and thy truest!'
And the King—
'But wherefore would ye men should wonder at you?

[42] There is a facsimile of this passage in *A Catalogue of . . . the Library of Harry Elkins Widener*, p. 215.

MANUSCRIPT

WIDENER PROOFS

Nay, rather for the sake of me, their King,
And the deed's sake my knighthood do the deed,
Than to be noised of.'

Merrily Gareth ask'd,
'Have I not earn'd my cake in baking of it?
Let be my name until I make my name!
My deeds will speak: it is but for a day.'
So with a kindly hand on Gareth's arm
Smiled the great King, and half unwillingly
Loving his lusty youthhood yielded to him.
Then, after summoning Lancelot privily,
'I have given him the first quest: he is not proven.
Look therefore when he calls for this in hall,
Thou get to horse and follow him far away.
Cover the lions on thy shield, and see
Far as thou mayest, he be nor ta'en nor slain.'

Then that same day there past into the hall
A damsel of high lineage, and a brow
May-blossom, and a cheek of apple-blossom,
Hawk-eyes; and lightly was her slender nose
Tip-lilted like the petal of a flower;
She into hall past with her page and cried,
(69, 7 - 72, 19)

My scullion knave! (*four words illegible*)
Thrall to your work for an your fire be low
Ye kindle mine. Belike, & like enow,
Some old headstroke not heeded in his youth
So shook his wits, they wander in his age
The quest, & arms & horse? from whom? The king.
Crazed. — how
(Between 78 and 79)

'Bound upon a quest
With horse and arms—the King hath past his time—
My scullion knave! Thralls to your work again,
For an your fire be low ye kindle mine!
Will there be dawn in West and Eve in East?
Begone!—my knave!—belike and like enow
Some old head-blow not heeded in his youth
So shook his wits they wander in his prime—
Crazed! How the villian lifted up his voice,
Nor shamed to bawl himself a kitchen-knave.
(79, 9 - 80, 2)

But when after sod & shingle ceased to fly
Behind her, & the heart of her good horse
Was nigh to burst thro' violence of the beat
Perforce, she stayd, & overtaken spake.

But after sod and shingle ceased to fly
Behind her, and the heart of her good horse
Was nigh to burst with violence of the beat,
Perforce she stay'd, and overtaken spoke.

MANUSCRIPT

What does thou [, *scullion*] here in my
companionship (*punctuation mark
may have been cut off in inlaying*)
Thinks[t] thou that I accept thee any the
more
And love thee better, [*seeing*] that by
some device
Full cowardly or by mere unhappiness
Thou hast overthrown & slain thy master,
[*kay.*] [thou]

Dishwasher, & broachturner, lu[*sk*] &
loon. [depart but he]
[Made her [a]w with]
Say what ye list, [*fair damsel, answer'd
he*] [Damsel, say]
[*But*]whatsoe'er ye say I[*will not hence*]
I part not till I finish this fair quest,
Or die therefore'
(Between 82 and 83)

Ay, wilt thou finish it?
Good lord, how like a noble knight he
speaks! [talks!]
But, knave, anon thou shalt be met
[*withit*] knave
And that by such a one that [thou] for all
The kitchenbroth that ever slipt thy
throat
Shalt not once dare to look him in the
face.
I shalt assay, said Gareth smiling at
her
(Between 80 and 81)[43]

Lord Baron, ye be too discourteous
To set this [kitchen] knave beside me [:]
[here;] hear me, thou
I stood this day in Arthur's [*& ask'd*]
hall
And asked the king to grant me Lancelot
To fight the brotherhood of Day & Night
And suddenly cries this shameless kitch-
enknave

WIDENER PROOFS

'What doest thou, scullion, in my fellow-
ship?
Deem'st thou that I accept thee aught the
more
Or love thee better, that by some device
Full cowardly, or by mere unhappiness,
Thou hast overthrown and slain thy master—
thou!—
Dish-washer and broach-turner, loon!—to
me
Thou smellest all of kitchen as before.'

'Damsel,' Sir Gareth answer'd gently, 'say
Whate'er ye will, but whatsoe'er ye say,
I leave not till I finish this fair quest,
Or die therefore.'
(82, 9 - 83, 8)

'Ay, wilt thou finish it?
Sweet lord, how like a noble knight he talks!
The listening rogue hath caught the manner
of it.
But, knave, anon thou shalt be met with,
knave,
And then by such a one that thou for all
The kitchen brewis that was ever supt
Shall not once dare to look him in the face.'

'I shall assay,' said Gareth with a smile
(83, 8-15)

'Meseems, that here is much discourtesy,
Setting this knave, Lord Baron, at my side.
Hear me—this morn I stood in Arthur's hall,
And pray'd the King would grant me Lance-
lot
To fight the brotherhood of Day and Night—
The last a monster unsubduable
Of any save of him for whom I call'd—
Suddenly bawls this frontless kitchen-knave,

[43] This passage is bound in the proofs out of its proper order. In transcribing it and the passage which immediately precedes it, I have followed the order of the text rather than that of the binder.

MANUSCRIPT	WIDENER PROOFS
The quest is mine; I have been thy kitchen-knave	"The quest is mine; thy kitchen-knave am I,
And lusty with thy meats & drinks am I.	And mighty thro' thy meats and drinks am I."
And Arthur all at once gone mad, replied	Then Arthur all at once gone mad replies,
Go therefore; [& so] gave this mighty quest to him	"Go therefore," and so gives the quest to him—
Him here — a fellow fitter to stick swine	Him—here—a villain fitter to stick swine
Than ride abroad redressing human wrong,	Than ride abroad redressing women's wrong,
Or sit beside a noble gentlewoman.	Or sit beside a noble gentlewoman."
[*At*] Then, half amazed, half-shamed, that Baron left	Then half-ashamed and part-amazed, the lord
The damsel with the peacock in his pride	Now look'd at one and now at other, left
(Between 88 and 89)	The damsel by the peacock in his pride, (88, 1-18)
O daughters of the dawn	Then at his call, 'O daughters of the Dawn,
And servants of the morningstar, approach	And servants of the Morning-Star, approach,
Arm me. whereat three damsels lightly slipt	Arm me,' from out the silken curtain-folds
From out the gay pavilion, rosy-clad,	Bare-footed and bare-headed three fair girls
Barefooted & bareheaded & there glanced	In gilt and rosy raiment came: their feet
Like sparkles in the stone avanturine	In dewy grasses glisten'd; and the hair
From dewdrop or from [hid] jewel, in their hair.	All over glanced with dewdrop or with gem
Blue arms they brought	Like sparkles in the stone Avanturine.
These arm'd him in blue harness, (*two words illegible*) a shield	These arm'd him in blue arms, and gave a shield
Blue also, [*whereupon*] [& thereon] the morningstar.	Blue also, and thereon the morning star.
He stood a moment, ere his horse was brought	And Gareth silent gazed upon the knight,
Glorying	Who stood a moment, ere his horse was brought,
Burnish'd to blinding. Gareth on him gazed	Glorying; and in the stream beneath him, shone,
As there he stood, until his horse was brought	(92, 2-14)
Glorying; & in	
(Between 92 and 93)	
& in the stream beneath him shone	and in the stream beneath him, shone,
Immingled with heaven's azure, waveringly	Immingled with Heaven's azure waveringly,
The gay pavilion, & the naked feet	The gay pavilion and the naked feet,
His arms, the rosy raiment, & the star	His arms, the rosy raiment, and the star.
(2nd leaf between 92 and 93)	(92, 14-17)

Bibliographical Notes

A Book of Hours for the Use of Autun Printed for Simon Vostre (Ca. 1507) (A Correction to the Stillwell Census)[1]

There is a printed Book of Hours in the Library of McGill University in Montreal, Canada, described in the Stillwell *Census* under H 332, which lacks the title and thus fails to provide any indication of usage:[2]

> Paris, Jean Dupré, 12 Mar. 1495. 12°
> Ref: R 944, Boh. (1909) 530.

But the volume as listed by Reichling,[3] is dated March 10, and its collation is: 114 fol., (a^8, b^6, c-f^8, g^6, h-l^8, m^6, n-p^8), 21 lines.[4]

In a superficial sense the Montreal *Horae* might seem to fit this description, for it has 21 lines and there are 115 leaves. But even cursory examination of the volume shows that it does not belong to the press of Jean Du Pré, for the cuts and borders form part of a series used by Pigouchet for Hours printed under the mark of Vostre. This impression is supported by the collation of the McGill University book which proves that it is an entirely different work from Reichling 944. There is, moreover, a specific identification on the verso of signature i4 which begins: "Incipit officium sacratissime virginis marie secundum usum ecclesie Eduensis."

Although this book is very incomplete, its collation may be reconstructed, and this evidence together with the fact of its Autun usage makes it possible to compare it with a *Livre d'Heures* in the Paris Bibliothèque Na-

[1] I am indebted to the McGill University Librarian, Mr. Richard Pennington, for his kindness in sending me the volume for study, and to Dr. Curt F. Bühler of The Pierpont Morgan Library, for many helpful suggestions in the preparation of this notice.

[2] Margaret B. Stillwell, *Incunabula in American Libraries* (New York, Bibliographical Society of America, 1940, [Monograph Series no. 1]). The McGill Book of Hours bears the catalogue no.: CUCA R66h in the University Library.

[3] Dietrich Reichling, *Appendices ad Hainii-Copingeri Repertorium bibliographicum; additiones . . .*, Fasicculus III, p. 45. Monachii, Rosenthal, 1905-1911.

[4] Hanns Bohatta, *Bibliographie der Livres d'Heures . . .* Vienna, Gilhofer & Ranschburg, 1909. In the 1924 edition this work bears the number 578.

tionale (Vélins 1594), described in the Lacombe catalogue (no. 160),[5] here repeated in brief:

> Heures à l'usage d'Autun. — vers 1507.
> En tête du premier cahier, sous la marque de Simon Vostre:
> *Ces presentes Heures a l'usaige de Outun, au||*
> *long, sans requerir, ont este faictes pour simon Vo||*
> *stre, libraire, demourant a Paris, en la rue Neuve.*
> Almanac for 1507-1527.
> 8°, 156 fol. (a-c^8, d^4, e-r^8, ā, ē, ī^8), 21 lines.

The actual collation of the McGill copy, as it stands, reveals many misbound as well as missing leaves:

> 115 fol. present, 41 wanting.
> It opens with quire e^8 (lacks e4, e5), g^8 (lacks g2, g6, g8) [g4, g5 appear as the last two leaves of the volume], h^8 (lacks h3), i^8, k^8; here follows a misbound leaf d3 ("nuisti verum deum . . ."), and the misbound quire c^8 (lacks c1, c2) [c3 begins, "toribus in ligne . . ."], l^8 (lacks l8), m^8 (lacks m1, m7), n^8, o^8 (lacks o7, o8), p^8, q^8, r^8 (lacks r4, r5), ā^8 (lacks ā1, ā3, ā4, ā5, ā6), ē^8 (lacks ē3), ī^8 (lacks ī3, ī5, ī6, ī7, ī8), followed by misbound quire b^8 (lacks b^4, b^5) [b1 begins "(I)N principio erat verbum . . ."], followed by the misbound leaves g4 ("michi homo . . ."), and g5 ("in seculum . . .").
> Quires a and f are wanting.

Text, cuts and borders are identical with the Paris copy except in quires c, ā, and ē, where some of the pages have been reset and new border pieces added in the McGill book. The new borders are wide side-pieces showing decorative banderoles, thistles, centaurs, griffons, etc. Since these are of a series of some of the later *Horae* printed for Vostre, the probability is that the Montreal volume is a slightly later edition of Lacombe 160.

Thus, instead of a work by Jean Du Pré, we have another Book of Hours to add to the list of the productions of the House of Simon Vostre, a hitherto unknown edition, new to the almost inexhaustible bibliography of liturgical books.

HARRY BOBER

A Paris Incunable

SENECA, LUCIUS ANNAEUS. Proverbia. De moribus. [Paris: Ulrich Gering, c.1483.]

Hain 14635.

[5] Paul Lacombe, *Livres d'Heures Imprimés au XVe et au XVIe Siècle . . .* , Paris, Imprimerie Nationale, 1907.

Quarto. 16 leaves, last blank. a-b^{6} c^{4}. 27 lines. Type-page (f. 3): 133 x 82 mm. Type: 5:99/100R (with Q | u and Qu | -Claudin I, 83 left).

f. 1 (title): SENECE PROVERBIA SECVN||DVM ORDINEM ALPHABETI|| CVM TRACTATV EIVSDEM || DE MORIBVS. || 1^{v}: blank. 2-a2: (a^{4})Lienum est omne: quicquid optā-||do euenit . . . 7-b1: male cogitat. Male facere qui vult: nusq̃ causā|| (ends 11^{v}-b5^{v}, l. 6): . . . Zelari autem hominibus vicio || sum est. || Expliciunt prouerbia senece. || 12-b6: INCIPIT TRACTATVS EIVSDEM || DE MORIBVS. || (o^{4})Mne peccatum actio est . . . (ends 15^{v}-c3^{v}, l. 8): . . . que sola homines diis proxi||mos facit. || Lucii Annei Senece prouerbia cu3 tracta||tu eiusdem de moribus: finiunt feliciter. || 16-c4: blank.[1]

Apparently undescribed, save for the brief note in Hain (based on Panzer II. 536. 736), and not listed in the second *Census*. The copy now in The Pierpont Morgan Library (PML 37527) measures 201 x 140 mm. and is bound in brown calf. From the collection of Arthur Kay with his book-plate (sold Sotheby, 26 May 1930, lot 637).

Morgan *Check List* 1420A.

CURT F. BÜHLER

Americanum Nauticum

A facsimile reprint of *Relacion verdadera de los trabajos y fortunas que an passado los que fueron el Viaje del Rio de la Plata. Escrita por Andres Martinez, vezino desta ciudad de Seuilla*, appears as number one of a series of *Americanum Nauticum* privately printed for Mr. Henry C. Taylor, of New York City.

The original text in two folio sheets is reproduced in photographic facsimile, with version in English done by Mr. G. Ballon Landa.

Mr. Taylor's preface notes that "in presenting *Americanum Nauticum Number 1*, it is my hope that it will prove to be the first of a series of more or less fugitive pieces of Americana with a nautical flavor which are not readily available in the original to scholars and collectors."

Mr. Taylor points out further that "from the bibliographical point of view, the Relation is noteworthy as being probably the first product of the Press of Alonso de Coca of Seville. Escudero y Peroso, in their *Bibliography of Books and Presses of Sevilla*, their number 598, had never seen a copy and further they list Coca as having started printing in 1565. Medina, *Biblioteca-Americana* number 182, knew it only in facsimile and Palau, volume

[1] The form here used is that recommended by Dr. Bühler in his Rosenbach lecture of this year.—*Editor.*

5, page 78, had never seen any but a facsimile. It is unknown in Sabin and does not appear in any of the great collections of Americana, in this country or in Europe."

Two hundred copies have been printed privately.

H. M. Lydenberg

Some Dickens Variations

[Dickens, Charles] Sketches | of | Young Gentlemen. | Dedicated to the Young Ladies. | With Six Illustrations | by | "Phiz." | London: | Chapman and Hall, 186, Strand. | mdccc-xxxviii. |

viii, 76 p. front., 5 plates + [4] p. of ads.

Eckel (1932) p. 104-105.

The Huntington Library has three copies of the above work which have variations that seem to have been unnoticed by bibliographers.

The Church copy has the imprint centered at foot of the page, verso of title-leaf; p. vii is wrongly numbered vi; and the plate at p. 33 has title "The Domestic Young Gentleman."

The Majoribanks copy is like the Church copy except that the title of the plate at p. 33 has been re-centered and reads "The Domestic Young Gent."

In the Halsey copy lines five and six of the title are in smaller type than in the Church and Majoribanks copies; and the imprint on the verso of the title-leaf is centered in the middle of the page, instead of at the foot of the page. Page vii is correctly numbered. The plate at p. 33 has title like the Church copy.

H. R. Mead

Two Notes on Richard Hooker

1. *Date of the "Ecclesiastical Polity," First Edition.*[1]

Although John Windet entered Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity* in the Stationers' Register 29 January 1592/3, the first four books came from Windet's press without a date, and it has been customary to accept without ques-

[1] Entry No. 13712 in *A Short-Title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland & Ireland . . . 1475-1640*, compiled by A. W. Pollard and G. R. Redgrave (London, The Bibliographical Society, 1926), cited hereafter as *STC*.

tion[2] Izaak Walton's statement, made three-quarters of a century later,[3] that they appeared in 1594.

R. A. Houk, writing in 1931, seems to have been the first to challenge the tradition. Houk cited contemporary allusions by Hooker himself and by Matthew Sutcliffe to show that the work was at least in manuscript quite early in 1593, and he pointed out that in Maunsell's *Catalogue* the *Polity* is described as printed in 1593.[4]

There is other evidence in the printed book itself favoring 1593. On sig. D6r of the *Polity* occurs an ornament which Windet used again in 1594 while printing *Godfrey of Bulloigne, or The Recouerie of Hierusalem . . . by . . . Tasso . . . Translated . . . by R. C.* (*STC* 23697), sig. ℜ2r. Since its appearance in the *Polity*, however, this ornament had been slightly damaged; it lost a tiny piece of scroll work in the lower section just left of the royal arms, but the mutilation was so slight that Windet continued to use the ornament; *cf.* the title-page of the fifth book of the *Polity*, 1597 (part of *STC* 13712), and sig. A3r of Chapman's *Seaven Bookes of the Iliades*, 1598 (*STC* 13632).

This damaged ornament, of course, indicates only that the four books of the *Polity* were printed before the *Godfrey*, but as the *Godfrey* was entered in the Stationers' Register 26 January 1593/4, it may have been printed quite early in 1594.

2. *The Oxford Tracts of 1612.*

In 1612 Joseph Barnes at Oxford printed quarto editions of five books connected with Hooker, all of them edited by Henry Jackson under the direction of John Spenser.[5] The printing of these tracts is in some respects rather similar to that of the famous Pavier Shakespeare quartos. They are: *A learned and comfortable Sermon* (*STC* 13707), *A learned Sermon of . . . Pride* (*STC* 13711), *A Remedie against Sorrow and Feare* (*STC* 13722), and *The Answere . . . to a Supplication* (*STC* 13706), all by Hooker, and *A Supplication made to the Privy Counsel by Mr. Walter Travers* (*STC*

[2] Cf. *The Carl H. Pforzheimer Library. English Literature 1475-1700* (1940) no. 498.

[3] Izaak Walton, *The Life of Mr. Rich. Hooker* (London, Printed by J. G. for Rich. Marriott, 1665), sig. Ilv. Walton gives the date of entry in the Stationers' Register as 9 March 1592.

[4] Hooker's *Ecclesiastical Polity Book VIII with an Introduction by Raymond Aaron Houk* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1931), pp. 53-59.

[5] See Falconer Madan, *Oxford Books* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1895), I: 80-81 and 86.

24187). In the first three the title-page descriptions of Hooker and the imprints are in the same setting of type: BY | RICHARD HOOKER, SOME- | times fellow of Corpus Chriſti | *College in Oxford.* | [printer's mark McKerrow 336] *AT OXFORD,* | Printed by Ioſeph Barnes, and are to be | ſold by John Barnes dwelling neere | Holborne Conduit. 1612. The imprints of the last two are in the same setting of type as the others. The last four have the same ornament at the head of their title-pages. Apparently all five books were printed off at about the same time in 1612.

Possibly Barnes intended to issue a quarto edition of Hooker's minor works, particularly as he included Travers' *Supplication* which would be necessary to a complete understanding of Hooker's *Answere.* But they all have separate pagination and signatures, and no copy of them all bound together with a general title-page appears to have survived.

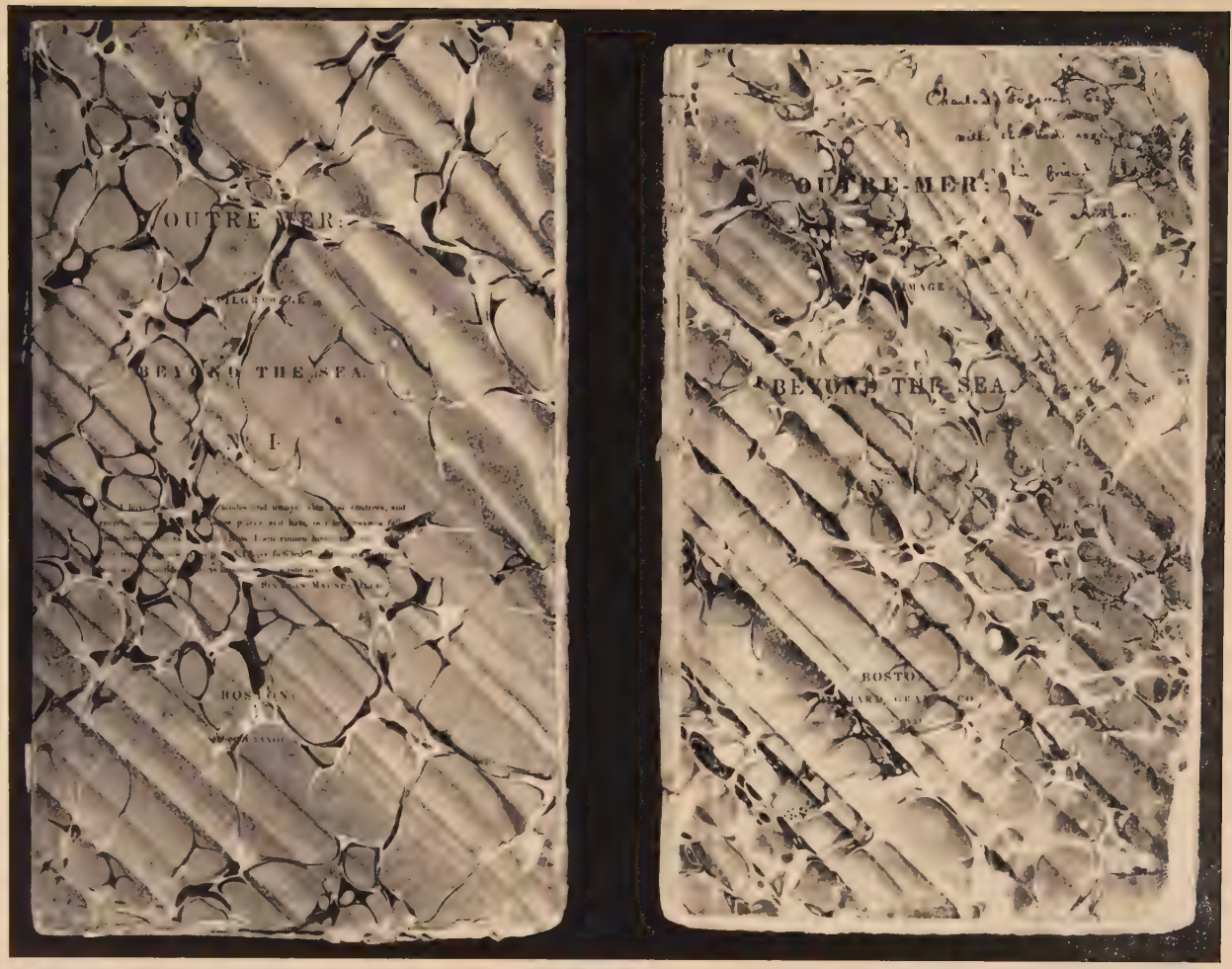
PAUL S. DUNKIN

Outre-Mer, Part I: Three Variants of the First Edition

For many years there has been a well-defined line of thought establishing a first and second issue of *Outre-Mer,* Part I. The evidence on hand established a clear-cut conclusion which appeared convincing.

In review, this evidence is that the most common form of the book had a five-line quotation on the front wrapper by Sir John Mandeville. The more unusual form omits this five-line quotation on the wrapper and the rest of the type is spaced differently. It was logically argued that, because the wrappered copies of Part II, published a year later than Part I, continued the use of this five-line quotation on the wrapper, copies of Part I with the quotation were later than those without, and therefore of a second issue. This argument was further strengthened by the fact that at least some of the Longfellow presentation copies lacked the quotation on the wrappers.

Now let us review the circumstances surrounding the publication of this book. Mr. Lawrance Thompson, in his book, *Young Longfellow (1807-1843)* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1938), brings out the facts admirably. Longfellow, in his youthful enthusiasm, had 500 copies of Part I printed in Brunswick, Maine, before he had obtained a publisher. Mr. Griffin, the printer, had gone to Boston to help him find one. Griffin apparently was successful, for on June 30, 1833, Longfellow (see


OUTRE-MER:
BEYOND THE SEA.
N. I.
BOSTON:
OUTRE-MER:
BEYOND THE SEA.
BOSTO

Young Longfellow, pp. 287-288) wrote Hilliard, Gray & Company, Boston publishers, stating:

Gentlemen:
Mr. Griffin reached town today and has just handed me your proposition in regard to the purchase and publication of my little book of sketches. The offer you make me is better than I expected . . . .
I wish, however, that you would have the goodness to act as agent for the work . . . . 500 copies have been printed. 425 I shall send you, 25 of which are for gratuitous distribution. 25 more I shall myself distribute. 50 copies will remain in Mr. Griffin's hands for the market here and in Portland . . . .
The books shall be sent as soon as they can be done up.
I wish you to take out the copyright in your name, for I do not wish to appear as the author of this work . . . .

Very respectfully yours,
HENRY W. LONGFELLOW

Mr. Thompson states that the printer had completed the book with the exception of the title-page, but I rather question this statement because I have lately come across a copy of Part I of the heretofore considered later issue, with the five-line quotation by Mandeville on the wrapper. The title-page and the front wrapper are complete, except that the name of the publisher is omitted from its customary place, not only on the title-page and the front wrapper, but also from the copyright notice. In addition the heading of page iii on this copy is the single line "Epistle Dedicatory," while all other copies I have seen have the two-line heading:

The
Epistle Dedicatory

This new evidence points to the fact that the type had been set up and a small run made, leaving out the name of the publisher and the owner of the copyright. This was probably done to show prospective publishers the book.

When Hilliard, Gray & Company agreed to publish the book, a slug bearing their name was placed in the proper place, and page iii was corrected by adding "The" to the heading so as to conform with all the other chapter headings.

We therefore must conclude that there were at least three variants of the first edition; the first issue which does not have the imprint of Hilliard, Gray & Company; and the second issue with their imprint, of which there were two variants, one with and one without the five-line quotation by Sir John Mandeville on the wrapper. The only evidence which attributed priority to copies which lacked the five-line quotation on the wrappers was that Part II, published a year later, had the quotation on the wrappers, and

therefore copies of Part I with the quotation on the wrappers must have been later. This is now discredited by the fact that a copy which must have preceded the heretofore known copies also has the five-line quotation by Sir John Mandeville.

In summary, until further evidence is found, the first edition of Part I is divided as follows:

First Issue. Without imprint of Hilliard, Gray & Company on wrappers, title-page and copyright notice; and lacking "The" in sub-title of page iii.

Second Issue. With imprint of Hilliard, Gray & Company, and having the two-line heading "The Epistle Dedicatory" at top of page iii. The second issue has two variants; (a) the rarer issue without the five-line quotation by Mandeville and (b) the commoner one with the quotation. No priority can be ascribed to either variant.

P. D. Howe

The Authors in This Issue

Dr. Fredson Bowers is associate professor of English at the University of Virginia, where, in addition to courses in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century literature, he gives graduate seminars in analytical and descriptive bibliography. He is currently engaged on *A Bibliography of English Drama From the Restoration to 1700.*

Philo Calhoun and Howell J. Heaney also collaborated in writing *Dickens' "Christmas Carol" After a Hundred Years: A Study in Bibliographical Evidence,* published in the 1945 volume of the Papers (Fourth Quarter, pp. 271-317).

Edgar F. Shannon, Jr., is a Rhodes Scholar now at Oxford, where he is engaged in research on Tennyson. He has previously done graduate work in English at Duke University and Harvard University, and has contributed articles to *The South Atlantic Quarterly* and the *Publications of the Modern Language Association of America.*

This issue of the Papers was edited by Earle F. Walbridge, Reference Assistant at the Washington Square Library of New York University, who also edited the two previous numbers.

Book Reviews

STORM, COLTON, AND HOWARD PECKHAM. *Invitation to Book Collecting, its Pleasures and Practices; with Kindred Discussion of Manuscripts, Maps, and Prints.* New York, R. R. Bowker Company, 1947. [3], 281 pp. 8⅞ x 5⅞ inches. $5.00.

The neophyte in book collecting should be a particularly happy person, for in no other field are beginning efforts anticipated by such a wealth of solicitous advice. This is evidenced by the never-ending stream of volumes designed for his instruction, so that he might, had he no further interests, spend a blissful lifetime in collecting books about collecting.

Such plenitude must breed some repetition, but modern times change so rapidly that a book of the current year may offer practical points that older works must of necessity lack. These would include alterations in auction practices, book publishing, changed location of famous books, the dispersion or deposit of well-known collections, new books of reference, etc. The authors of the book under review have seen to this; have added, as well, interesting chapters on old manuscripts, maps and historic prints; and have, in addition, included bookish anecdotes of recent vintage, all of which add point and entertainment to their volume.

True it is that the epithets used to describe certain well-known personalities must prove somewhat startling to captious conservatives; to hear Geofroy Tory, for example, identified as "the typographic playboy of the sixteenth century"; or Samuel Johnson described as a "hired hack." This is the same high Tory Samuel who compiled the dictionary, and wrote the memorable letter to the Earl of Chesterfield containing these biting lines: "Is not a Patron, my Lord, one who looks with unconcern on a man struggling for life in the water, and, when he has reached ground, encumbers him with help?" No, "hack" seems hardly the right word, even if he did write an anti-American pamphlet. And yet Samuel, himself, might not have objected, because in the aforesaid dictionary he defined lexicographer as "a harmless drudge."

The volume contains a good discussion of the distinction between "historical manuscripts" and "archives"; and includes cases giving decisions

which allow states or cities to recover, through the courts, letters addressed to the corporation even if afterward found in private hands.

Amateurs looking for hints may find one in the chapter dealing with historic prints, where some mention is made of artists who accompanied and illustrated early American explorations, the records of which were later published as government documents. So far as known to the reviewer no bibliography of such documents, with cross reference to artist, period, and place has been made, although there were numerous explorations, and the illustrations possess exceptional merit in depicting contemporary scenes and characters. Private publications such as McKenny and Hall or Catlin's *Indians* might be added for good measure.

No beginner can afford to ignore the advice, given in the chapter on auctions, against personal bidding which deprives dealers of their commissions. Large sums of money have been lost in the past by important collectors who ignored this, only to discover their mistake later, when their own collections came to the block.

In the chapter on "Historic Collectors," nine Americans receive the honor of having their collections briefly described—surely a select group—and of course not all, even though important, could have been given space. Even so, it would seem that Henry Clay Folger deserves a niche in the charmed circle; and some would vote for the inclusion of Thomas Prince, James Lenox and Isaiah Thomas.

The manuscripts gathered together by that puissant author-publisher-collector Hubert Howe Bancroft at Berkeley are described briefly with the somewhat ambiguous comment: "They are still used by students of the Far West." True, but is the time coming when they will no longer be so used? Very doubtful, because they are primary sources.

Since the question of the Far West has been raised, further doubts might be expressed concerning this rather sweeping statement on page 79: "Yale University Library has an unparalleled collection of this western travel in the gifts from William R. Coe and Henry R. Wagner." No one questions the importance of the Coe Collection, but "unparalleled" is a dangerous superlative. The Bancroft collection above referred to has an extremely large collection of travel, and it was gathered at a time when the gathering was good. Since that time it has more than trebled in size. The Western travel books collected by Henry R. Wagner in compiling his indispensable *Bibliography of the Plains and Rockies* were sold in 1922 to Henry E. Huntington, who added other extensive collections on the same subject and later bought heavily to round them out. When Huntington bought

heavily the entire book world knew and responded. The Wagner books that came to Yale dealt chiefly with four subjects: gold and silver, deposited in 1907; and Mexico and Texas sold, while the earlier deposited books were given, in 1915 and 1919. Another more than respectable collection of Far Western travel is held by the Newberry Library at Chicago, the gift of Edward E. Ayer, who spent a lifetime and large sums in buying every book he could find at home or abroad dealing with the American Indian and including, as a matter of course, travels into the latter's territory. Since his death the collection has continued to grow. The latest collection does not necessarily surpass earlier and well seasoned accumulations.

Pointing out that the level of auction prices for any class of books shifts from century to century and even, in the case of individual volumes, from decade to decade, the authors omit mention of single titles that declined in value, concentrating, instead, on a chosen few whose rise in price has been phenomenal. This is a just appraisal of the American temperament, which confines its interest to winners. But would it not be an interesting task, and useful to the book world as well, if some neophyte should follow the fortunes of certain once fashionable volumes which have declined in price over a period of years? It has always appeared to this reviewer that, with the exception of relatively few books, all tend to lose in auction value the farther they recede into the past. Corrections in the curve would have to be made for a renewal of interest in certain authors, characters or periods—often occurring one hundred or two hundred years after they first "registered"—and for the universal depreciation in monetary values. Books on Napoleon and his marshals were collected well into this century, but will certainly be less so in A.D. 2047. It might even be that a time could arrive in these United States, when collectors will remember an ungainly figure in a stove-pipe hat as president at the North during a civil war which, by then, has become almost as remote as the Norman conquest of England, were it not for two prophetic utterances which will continue to touch American hearts as long as the nation endures: *The Gettysburg Address* and *The Second Inaugural.*

CARL L. CANNON

Walt Whitman's Backward Glances: A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads and Two Contributory Essays Hitherto Uncollected. Edited with an Introduction on the Evolution of the Text by Sculley Bradley and John A. Stevenson. Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1947. vii, 51 pp. 10½ x 7 inches. $5.00.

Behind the production of *Walt Whitman's Backward Glances* lies a falla-

cious critical assumption—that Whitman's preface to *November Boughs*, "A Backward Glance O'er Travel'd Roads," is itself a work of art. Professor Sculley Bradley and Mr. John A. Stevenson in their joint introduction refer to Whitman's retrospective preface as "this great critical essay." But their very demonstration of how the preface was put together by joining articles previously in print—the first half of it "with a few verbal changes . . . taken over bodily" from an article in *Lippincott's*—reveals how little artistic consciousness went into its design. The editors have mistaken a lazy man's self-indulgence for an "evolutionary process." The preface is not a thing conceived separately, like *Thanatopsis*, and worked over until it is flawless: it is simply something patched together. Consequently a study of the "evolution of the text" is a work of supererogation.

But the preface and the two other articles which Messrs. Bradley and Stevenson print—*A Backward Glance on My Own Road* and *How "Leaves of Grass" Was Made*—are very interesting related Whitmania, and it is convenient to have them, together with a facsimile of the second item, between covers. Instead of the mistaken introduction, it would be very useful to have a critical essay on what these different pieces reveal about the author's mind and methods. For example, Whitman carelessly allows two words to slip into his preface which caution had excluded from the earlier articles. He writes, "From another point of view 'Leaves of Grass' is avowedly the song of Sex and *Amativeness*. . . ." But *Amativeness* is a tell-tale word, with special implications to the phrenologists, and reveals Whitman's debt to these pre-Freudian pseudo-scientists. In another place he writes that, with the Civil War, "a sudden, vast, terrible, direct and indirect stimulus for new and national *declamatory* expression had . . . been given me." The use of the word *declamatory* appears to enforce Clifton Furness' observation in *Walt Whitman's Workshop* that the poet's rhythms are in some way connected with his study of public speaking. These two examples—all that I have space for—show how a different kind of examination of Whitman's retrospective writings might be more valuable than the introduction the editors have provided.

The most laborious task connected with the publication of this book was the collation and annotation of the texts, a task performed by Dr. Thelma Smith, a former graduate student at Pennsylvania. Dr. Smith has been reasonably conscientious, but she fails to note and comment on the most interesting thing in the facsimile reproduction of the MS.—the fact that Whitman wrote and then crossed out beyond the dash on page 15, ". . . the largely prevailing range of criticism on my book has been either mock-

ery or denunciation—*that my relation with publishers has been that of victim....*" (Italics mine.) Written prior to January 5, 1884, when the article was printed in *The Critic*, this can only express Whitman's pique over his treatment by Osgood, for David McKay (successor to Rees Welsh & Co.) did very well by him. The "sale of the Philadelphia edition," Professor Allen has pointed out, "enabled Whitman to buy the house in Mickle Street" which he occupied within three months after the article appeared. He cancelled the passage probably because it applied only to Osgood. The editors need to show that there is any reason besides this passage for reproducing the MS. Certainly without critical elucidation it is not self-evident that the MS. affords "a convincing demonstration of the poet's profound creative intelligence at work." They are somewhat partial to superlatives.

And so are the "blurb" writers. One is sorry to see a university press adopt this kind of language: "An absorbing example of literary detective work is disclosed in this study," etc. Saunders and Holloway had done all "the detective work"—as the editors admit. *Walt Whitman's Backward Glances* is a useful compilation of Whitmania, beautifully printed, but somewhat excessively priced at five dollars.

Oscar Cargill

Brigham, Clarence Saunders. *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers 1690-1820.* By Clarence S. Brigham. Worcester, Massachusetts, American Antiquarian Society, 1947. 2 vols., 1508 pp. 11 x 8½ inches. $15.00.

A bibliographical job extending over thirty-four years and which had to be done mainly on Sundays, evenings and vacations, that necessitated about ten thousand miles of travel and the examination of newspaper files in about four hundred cities and towns, has just been finished with the publication of Clarence S. Brigham's *History and Bibliography of American Newspapers*, 1690-1820. In the opinion of this writer this two-volume quarto of 1508 pages will be given top ranking among American bibliographies, and will immediately take a place of honor beside "Sabin," "Evans" and Dr. Cole's "Church Catalogue."

The history of the undertaking is interesting. In his introduction Mr. Brigham says, "It was early in 1913 that I began upon this monumental task, blithely believing that five years would finish it." The first installment of the *Bibliography* appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society, October, 1913, and covered the states from Ala-

bama to Indiana. The plan was to write a brief historical account of each newspaper, giving the changes of titles and names of publishers, with a check list of all files located. The *Bibliography* was to be confined to all newspapers issued previous to 1821, "chiefly because the *Bibliography* had to stop somewhere and to extend it into later decades might cause the entire undertaking to fall under its own weight." (In 1937 the H. W. Wilson Company published *American Newspapers, 1821-1936; a Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada*, so that today we have two fine check lists of American newspapers from 1690 to 1936.)

The final installment of the *Bibliography* appeared in the *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society for April, 1927. To quote Mr. Brigham further: "Since the final installment was printed . . . revision has been constantly in progress. The reëxamination of known files, the discovery of new files, and especially extended research into the history of the newspapers have combined to make the earlier portions of the *Bibliography* almost unrecognizable. Furthermore, the decision has been made to list all files more in detail. Where previously it was deemed sufficient to describe a file as scattering or incomplete, in the revision the files are listed in detail, recording all dates and all omissions. Although this procedure rendered the list of far more value, it resulted in a great amount of time and labor, requiring in many cases revisiting such libraries as possessed the files."

The original plan has been realized, and we now have a check list of American newspapers probably as complete as is humanly possible for one person to make, with locations of existing files and, also, odd numbers. The arrangement is alphabetical, first according to states, then cities or towns, then the newspaper titles. A sketch of the life of each newspaper is given at the beginning of every check list. These sketches include the names of all publishers, the dates of their activity and changes in the title of the paper. In the check list of owners, the most complete existing file is given priority, next in order the second most complete file, and so on until all important files are located.

Mr. Brigham has compiled from the *Bibliography* some interesting statistics. From 1690 to 1820 there were 2120 different newspapers published. Of this total the six New England states had 447 papers, the six Middle Atlantic States from New York to Maryland had 1023 papers, the ten Southern States from Virginia to Louisiana had 425. During the same period New York City had 138 papers, followed by Philadelphia with 107, and Boston with 73.

The six largest collections of newspapers before 1820 are in the Ameri-

can Antiquarian Society with 1496 titles, Library of Congress with 936, Harvard with 732, New York Historical Society with 634, New York Public Library with 480, and the Wisconsin Historical Society with 415 titles.

The history, statistics and locations of existing files of many famous newspapers will not only be of interest to students of American journalism, but should be of more than passing interest to all who delve in American history. *The Pennsylvania Gazette, Pennsylvania Journal, Maryland Gazette, Boston News Letter, Boston Gazette, New York Gazette, New Hampshire Gazette, Newport Mercury, Providence Gazette, Connecticut Gazette, Connecticut Courant, Connecticut Journal,* and many others had a tremendous influence on the life of the American people. In the main they were independent and not subservient to the governing authorities.

In the Colonial period many papers were suppressed, and their editors sent to jail. The first number of the first newspaper published in America was suppressed. Benjamin Harris issued in Boston on September 25, 1690, *Publick Occurrences Both Foreign and Domestick,* containing three pages of news, chiefly American, with no advertisements. As it offended the authorities, and was issued without a license, it was ordered suppressed by the Governor and Council, and future numbers were forbidden.

Benjamin Franklin's first fame as publisher came as a result of his elder brother James being "taken up, censur'd and imprisoned for a month," for publishing "scandalous libels." For some time after this, James's paper, *The New England Courant,* was issued under Benjamin's name. John Peter Zenger and his trial on a charge of libel are familiar to most students of American journalism. Daniel Fowle, who was jailed in Boston in 1755 for printing a political pamphlet, quit Massachusetts in disgust, and started publishing, in 1756 at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, the first New Hampshire newspaper, *The New Hampshire Gazette.*

The founding, building and development of the great collection of American newspapers in The American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Massachusetts, over which the author of this *Bibliography* presides as director, is an interesting story of one of the most intelligent attempts to preserve the cultural and historical records of the American people. The collection was established by Isaiah Thomas, patriot printer of the Revolution and founder of the Society. Through exchange with other publishers and purchases paid for from his own pocket, Mr. Thomas secured some notable files, including *The Boston Evening Post,* 1735-1775, *The American Weekly Mercury* (Philadelphia) 1719-1746, *The New York Weekly Jour-*

nal, 1733-1751, and *The Pennsylvania Gazette*, 1735-1775. Fortunately, after Isaiah Thomas's death, the Antiquarian Society continued to acquire newspaper files. It has been during the last thirty-seven years, however, during the tenure of office of the compiler, that the greatest attention has been given to improve the Society's collection, and today there are housed at Worcester nearly 20,000 volumes and portfolios.

Many new historical facts are undoubtedly given in the *Bibliography* for the first time. Students of Texas history will be interested in the long notes on *Gaceta de Texas* and *The Texan Republican* and Americans in general will be interested to know that two newspapers were actually published in Texas before 1820. Unfortunately but a single number of one of the papers survives. To many it will be "news" that papers were being regularly issued in Lexington, Kentucky in 1787, in Cincinnati in 1793, in New Orleans in 1794, in Natchez, Mississippi in 1799, and in St. Louis in 1808.

It is this writer's opinion that this truly monumental work, the result of years of most careful and intelligent work by the one man peculiarly fitted to do it, will become one of the most useful of American bibliographies. As a specific example, the volumes which came to this writer's desk had not been unpacked twenty-four hours before they furnished highly valuable information about the printing of Governor Dunmore's broadside proclamation declaring martial law in Virginia on November 7, 1775. Evans (No. 14592) says the printer of the broadside was John H. Holt & Co. of Norfolk. Mr. Brigham in his notes on the *Virginia Gazette* (Norfolk), 1774-1775, proves Evans in error. He tells of the British attack on Norfolk on September 30, 1775, and of the seizure of Holt's press and the carrying of it on board the ship *Dunmore*. The broadside, therefore, becomes one of the extremely rare Revolutionary items printed on board ship.

The Index of printers at the end, showing the papers they issued and where and when they published, ought to be one of the most useful reference lists in American bibliography. This list alone occupies 142 pages. The index of newspaper titles, occupying 173 pages should also be highly useful.

MICHAEL J. WALSH

RADER, JESSE L. *South of Forty, from the Mississippi to the Rio Grande: a Bibliography*. Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1947. xi, 336 pp. 10 x 7½ inches. $10.00.

"For the purpose of this bibliography," states the preface, "the area un-

dertaken is defined on the north by the fortieth parallel, on the west by the Rio Grande, on the south by the Gulf of Mexico, and on the east by the Mississippi. . . . It should be emphasized that the list is in no sense selective: it is an effort toward an exhaustive bibliography."

I approached this list not as an expert bibliographer but as a historian, a native of a state in this area, who had for nearly seven years been engaged in research involving two others, and with the liveliest anticipations. I found it interesting and potentially useful but did not feel that it came up to reasonable expectations.

A conspicuous weakness is the lack of a logical and practicable system of limits. Almost any North American Indian item seems to have been considered fair game. The inclusion of material on tribes now domiciled in Kansas or Oklahoma, before their transfer to the Indian Territory, might be justified if handled consistently. But rather unimportant pamphlets on the Seminole (219, 278, 1770, 2928, 3151) are listed and Sprague's monumental *Florida War* omitted. It is difficult to find even so logical an explanation for nearly forty items on the Sioux of Minnesota and the Dakotas, and several on the Blackfeet, Pima, and Mohave. As a result of this over-generosity one can never be sure that a book actually deals with the region to which this bibliography is avowedly dedicated unless a note specifically indicates the locale—and for every such useful comment as "Experiences in Missouri, Colorado and Kansas, 1890-1895" (459), there are several titles as uninforming as *The Homes of the New World* (470), or *Four Years in a Government Exploring Expedition* (878) or *Camping on the Trail* (1345), and which lack such a note.

The bibliography's claim to be exhaustive even within its unquestioned geographical limits is hardly tenable. The listing of the official documents of most of the Five Civilized Tribes, and of United States documents relating to Indian affairs, could, indeed, be of great utility, as also the pages devoted to the constitution, laws, statutes, etc., of Oklahoma, and to Texas public documents; not a single similar item from Kansas, Missouri, Arkansas, Louisiana, New Mexico, or Colorado is, however, included. Some journal files are listed, but not *The Southwest Review*, the *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, *The Frontier Times*, or *The Hispanic-American Historical Review*. An examination of my notes on a particular subject lying within this area, 1850-1881, reveals twenty unlisted titles. A few other omissions of special importance are Oswald Garrison Villard's *John Brown*, Everett Dick's *The Sod-House Frontier, 1854-1890*, and John D. Hicks's *The Populist Revolt*.

The dust-jacket asserts the bibliography's claim to be "both historical and

literary." The literary items, however, seem to have been chosen at random and, in the fiction field, are chiefly "wild-westerns," dime-novels, and juveniles. William Allen White, Ed Howe, George Washington Cable, Harvey Fergusson, Dorothy Scarborough, Dora Aydelotte, Edwin M. Lanham, Josephine Johnson, and Jack Conroy are entirely unrepresented; Samuel L. Clemens and Margaret Hill McCarter are alike represented by a single title each; Marah Ellis Ryan's *The House of the Dawn*, William Cunningham's *Pretty Boy*, George Milburn's *Catalogue*, and John Steinbeck's *Grapes of Wrath* are omitted. Among poets, Eugene Ware, Orrick Johns, Kenneth Kaufman, Fay Yauger, Langston Hughes, Denis Murphy, John Gould Fletcher (to mention a few) are all omitted, as is *Fandango*, by the compiler's colleague, Stanley Vestal—mentioned only under his pen-name. Of two dramas listed, neither is by Lynn Riggs, upon whose *Green Grow the Lilacs* was based *Oklahoma!*, and who is also the author of *The Cherokee Night* and other plays.

The volume is beautifully printed and bound and I have noted only half a dozen misprints (851, 1085, 2065, 3024, 3144, 3667). The subject index, however, if the headings by which I have tested it are at all typical, is hardly "carefully prepared." Of twenty-three index references to the Seminole, five (3501, 3517, 3520, 3679, 3670) are incorrect. A run through the titles, furthermore, reveals no less than eighteen Seminole references not included in the index.

This bibliography is obviously not "exhaustive" and is heavily padded with extra-limital material. The conclusion is almost inescapable that it was based on too few and too limited collections. Such a large body of titles in Western Americana cannot but be of considerable use, but it is regrettable that lack of adequate care in planning and execution has so greatly impaired its potential value. A less ambitious project, more thoroughly accomplished, would have been far preferable.

KENNETH WIGGINS PORTER

BAILEY, JAMES OSLER. *Pilgrims Through Time and Space; Trends and Patterns in Scientific and Utopian Fiction.* New York, Argus Books, Inc. [1947]. 341 pp. Facsimiles. 9 x 5½ inches. $3.50.

SCOTT, J. E. *A Bibliography of the Works of Sir Henry Rider Haggard, 1856-1925.* Takeley, Bishop's Stortford, Herts, Elkin Mathews, 1947. 258 pp. Frontispiece (portrait), facsimiles. 8¾ x 5½ inches. £2 2*s*.

TARG, WILLIAM, *Editor. Carrousel for Bibliophiles; a Treasury of Tales, Narratives, Songs, Epigrams and Sundry Curious Studies Relating to a Noble Theme.* Edited, With an Introduction by William Targ. [Device in red] New York, Philip C. Duschnes, 1947. xii, 400, 15 pp. Facsimiles. 10 x 6½ inches. $7.50.

The lighter side of bibliography is represented by three recent books: a study of pseudo-scientific fiction, a bibliography of a famous romancer, and a diverting anthology for booklovers.

Chapter VII of *The Supernatural in Modern English Fiction* (New York, G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1917—and till recent years still in print), by the late Dorothy Scarborough of Columbia University, is titled *Supernatural Science.* Dr. Scarborough thus made fantastic fiction a respectable subject for treatment in an academic dissertation, and Dr. Bailey has followed in her footsteps with an equally readable study, which in 1934 was a University of North Carolina Ph.D. thesis. He defines scientific fiction as "a narrative of an imaginary invention or discovery in the natural sciences and consequent adventures and experiences," and analyzes scores of such romances which deal with atomic energy, other worlds, utopias, space ships, and the like. H. G. Wells naturally bulks largest, followed by Jules Verne, Olaf Stapledon, Edgar Allan Poe, and Aldous Huxley. The bibliography of *Scientific Romances and Historical Works* takes up more than eight double-column pages. There are four (unlisted) illustrations. Dr. Bailey might well have mentioned *Famous Fantastic Mysteries,* a fiction periodical which has reprinted Gilbert K. Chesterton's *The Man Who Was Thursday,* Cutcliffe Hyne's *The Lost Continent,* and similar superior romances; and his recollection of one of the illustrations by Stanley Wood in George Griffith's *A Honeymoon in Space* (p. 244) is faulty. That octopus was a separate entity. A large and uncanny group of readers should find this conscientious study an indispensable handbook.

Rider Haggard is esteemed by his admirers as a romancer to be ranked with (or above) Alexandre Dumas, Arthur Conan Doyle, and Jules Verne. Collectors have also become interested in the first editions of his books since George L. McKay, Librarian of The Grolier Club of New York, published his *Bibliography of the Writings of Sir Henry Rider Haggard* in 1930 (London, The Bookman's Journal). Mr. McKay's table of pirated American issues of Haggard's works is reprinted in the present bibliography, and he also checked "innumerable points" for the compiler. Be-

sides the 144 entries of various editions of Haggard's works, there are lists of his articles and book reviews in periodicals; letters to *The Times* and other newspapers; reports of his political speeches; and lists of dramatizations and parodies of his books. Part IX, *Interviews, Biographical Sketches, Critical Articles, etc.*, is confined to periodical literature, and omits such items as the valuable chapter in Malcolm Elwin's *Old Gods Falling* (New York, The Macmillan Company, 1939), and the frequent references to Haggard in Roger Lancelyn Green's *Andrew Lang: a Critical Biography* (Leicester, England, Edward Ward, 1946. Presumably, Haggard enthusiasts will not object to paying two guineas for so complete a biography, which even includes a fairly consistent chronological biography of Allan Quatermain (Haggard was much more careful in such matters than Conan Doyle was with Sherlock Holmes). The American actor Wilton Lackaye is misspelled "Wilson Lockaye" on p. 224.

Littré defined carrousel, or carousel, as "A tournament in which knights, divided into companies (quadrilles) distinguished by their liveries and dresses, engaged in various plays and exercises," and the reader of this entertaining anthology, if it reaches him jacketless, may consider that stately definition rather appropriate. That is, while he is reading Addison's *Tom Folio*, or the extracts from the *Philobiblon* of Richard de Bury, or Hazlitt's *On Reading Old Books*. If, recalling the lately departed Rodgers and Hammerstein musical play, *Carousel*, he decides that the compiler and publisher had a merry-go-round in mind, the drawing on the dust jacket will justify his surmise. On a real carousel, of course, a rider runs the risk of mixed company, vertigo, and loud and brassy music. There is no such danger here. Joy is unbuttoned, but not unrefined. The mere fact that Edmund Pearson's *The Lost First Folio* and Holbrook Jackson's *Books Bound in Human Skin* head the list of contents is sufficient promise that this first anthology for bibliophiles will be civilized, amusing, and urbane in tone, and curious and interesting in its findings. Besides such instructive articles as George McKay's *Early American Book Auctions*, Lawrence S. Thompson's exhaustive *Notes on Bibliokleptomania*, and Clarence Burley Boutell's *Lost But Not Forgotten*, there is one of the most curdling of Montague Rhodes James's biblio-spectral tales, *The Tractate Middoth*; an episode from *The Cloister and the Hearth;* what Vincent Starrett would call a biblio-foolish speculation entitled *Did Mark Twain Write "Alice in Wonderland"?* and interspersed ballades and other poems on book collecting by bookmen ranging from Chaucer to Christopher Morley. (One of the few

misprints in the book occurs in Mr. Morley's essay *Reperusal*, where he is made to say of bibliophiles that "not without reason is Crochet [*sic*] Castle their home and Crabbe one of their poets." Crochet Castle undoubtedly stands near Antimacassar Abbey. The volume is excellently printed in Mr. Morley's favorite type, Baskerville, by The Anthoensen Press of Portland, Maine.) A. Edward Newton and John T. Winterich are also well represented, but where is Andrew Lang?

Since a party on a carousel finishes circumnavigating in an exhilarated and hilarious frame of mind, it is well that this anthology saves for its parting blast the Farquhar-Grabhorn *Catalog of Rare Books and Manuscripts . . . Offered for Sale by the Caveat Book Shop.* This ranges from No. 22, "Pacific Ocean. Mutiny on the Bounty. A Jurisdictional Dispute. By Harry Bridges. San Pedro, 1945" to No. 33, "Kelmscott Press. The Complaynte of Guinevere. By Geoffrey Chaucer. Edited and with an introduction by Algernon Charles Swinburne. 8vo, full limp vellum; boxed, cuffed, and tied." Descriptive Note, "Lancelot! Lancelot!"

Earle F. Walbridge

Forrester, Alfred Henry ("Alfred Crowquill"). *A Few Words about Pipes Smoking & Tobacco.* [By] Alfred Crowquill. [New York], New York Public Library, 1947. xi, [xii], 91 pp., 39 line-cuts and 1 color-plate. 8¼ x 5½ inches. $7.50. (Publication No. 1, Arents Tobacco Collection.)

It is the conjecture of Miss Sarah Dickson in her introduction to this highly artistic presentation of a hitherto unpublished manuscript that the artist-author, though patronized by royalty, "may have hesitated" to have the booklet printed because he did not wish "to flout the prejudice" of Queen Victoria who frowned so darkly on "the weed." For whatever reason—and I think Miss Dickson's conjecture is as good as any—this "smoker's scrap book" compiled by Alfred Crowquill in 1839-1840 remained unnoticed until recently, when it had the good fortune of falling into the hands of George Arents who selected Bruce Rogers to design its printed format. The illustrations are all exact-size facsimiles and the printed pages follow, precisely, those of the manuscript.

The book was assembled by Alfred Henry Forrester (1804-1872) or "Alfred Crowquill" as he was better known in his period. He sometimes

collaborated with his brother Charles Robert Forrester. "Though popular as an illustrator in his own day," Miss Dickson writes, "Crowquill has been greatly overshadowed, in the opinion of posterity, by his famous contemporaries: the Cruikshanks, John Leech and Hâblot K. Browne."

The style of these contemporaries is reflected in the delightful illustrations; indeed one of them is a direct reflection: the little figure composition on page 87 is copied from George Cruikshank's etching of "Monmouth Street" for *Sketches by Boz*.

As for the text of the book; it is an amusing hodgepodge of references about tobacco jotted down apparently in the order in which they came to the artist's notice. Some are copied *verbatim*, which is the case with the entertaining story about Napoleon's hatred for smoking. Others are told by the artist in his own words, as for example the story which begins: "A young man residing in Leicester-Place, unaware of the serious consequences, infused about an ounce of tobacco into a quart of coffee that was standing in the pot for the use of the maid-servant, a girl 18 years of age, & of robust health." His description of the serious consequences, given with a wealth of detail as if the case were as important as the San Francisco earthquake (or fire), is a masterpiece of medical misinformation.

Miss Dickson's urbane introduction is written in a graceful style perfectly in keeping with the pictorial and verbal froth assembled by the artist. In short: the book is an attractive volume which will appeal to the layman looking for entertainment as well as to collectors of illustrated books or of books designed by Bruce Rogers.

THEODORE BOLTON

REINER, IMRE. *Modern and Historical Typography: an Illustrated Guide.* New York, Paul A. Struck, 1946. 120 pp. Plates (facsimiles). 9½ x 6¾ inches. $4.50.

This book, published originally in St. Gallen, Switzerland, under the title *Typo-Graphik: Studien und Versuche*, is, according to the American dust-wrapper "a scholarly compilation of the best typographic designs created throughout the centuries," and "proves the thesis that a design done in good taste centuries ago is acclaimed as much to-day as it was in the years gone by." The text commences with a page of advice to young printers on the title-page and its future development: this is followed unexpectedly by a chapter headed Trade and Business Cards; then, The Ornament in Typography; Cartouches and Vignettes; Masters of Callig-

raphy; Johann Michael Fleischmann (who had nothing to do with calligraphy, but whose types "can be very well used in modern printing"—in the Swiss edition the date of his death is 1768, in the American 1786); Calligraphy and Typography; Typographic Book-Plates; Thomas Bewick (it is never wholly clear why he was included); Billheads; Typography in Advertising Art; Labels and Trade-marks; and finally several philosophic reflections on printing as an art called Typographic Miscellany. The illustrations are unusually interesting, particularly those showing the work of Joseph de Casanova, the great Spanish calligrapher of the seventeenth century; and even though they include little English or American work, they are unquestionably the most valuable part of the book, and express Mr. Reiner's theories and ideas far more clearly than his sentences occasionally do. It is distressing to find, among such superb examples of Continental work, that the only American type illustration should be of "Crochet-Type" (Philadelphia, 1882) which looks as if it had originated in the busy mind of one of Mrs. Burton Harrison's earlier heroines. Mr. Reiner's work, in spite of its promise and its partial success, can only have the final effect of bewildering the reader, who needs, in a reference book of this kind, coherence, emphasis, and a complete organization of materials.

GILBERT MCC. TROXELL

SEXTON, ERIC H. L. *A Descriptive and Bibliographical List of Irish Figure Sculptures of the Early Christian Period; With a Critical Assessment of Their Significance.* Portland, Maine, The Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1946. xiii, 300 pp. Plates. 10 x 7 inches. $7.50.

Scholars interested in early medieval art of the British Isles will find this book a great convenience. It is a catalogue of all the important sculptural remains of Ireland—mostly crosses—dating before the middle of the twelfth century. The monuments are arranged alphabetically according to place. For each monument the author gives an accurate geographical location, brief description, and a complete bibliography of scholarly publications on the monument—happily in chronological order—and a summary of the different interpretations of the figure sculpture found on the monuments. The catalogue is followed by fifty-five pages of full-page halftone illustrations and is preceded by a forty-page critical summary which tries to evaluate—usually without bias—the importance of the monuments and the signifi-

cance of their iconography largely in the light of the publications given in the catalogue.

Early Irish sculpture, like its English parallel, was not a part of the major stream of European medieval art. Yet its early Christian and proto-romanesque phase produced some extremely vital relief sculpture of unusually imaginative iconography. Unfortunately most of the monuments—whether of granite or sandstone—have been so badly eroded that the original plastic quality of the figure sculpture is greatly diminished, and the significance of its iconography become subject to most divergent interpretations (pp. 95-96, 108, 112-113, etc.).

But even in their present state, the monuments could be better enjoyed and understood by both student and layman if some effort were made by writers in this field to use for illustrations the best photographs which modern photography can provide. Poorly preserved monuments need good photographs even more than well preserved ones. Until lately German scholars seemed to have realized the value of excellent photographs in books on art. Mr. Sexton's book was prepared before the war, and unfortunately it is no deviation from the rule of poorly illustrated scholarly books on art published then in the United States and elsewhere. The photographs he himself took are often inferior to the generally poor ones taken by Kingsley Porter a generation ago, and consistently inferior to those made by H. S. Crawford about the same time or earlier. In these days of exposure meters, panchromatic film, ground-glass screens, filters, cameras with rising fronts, and telephoto lenses, there is little or no excuse for poor photographic illustrations. If an art historian is incapable of mastering these important and relatively simple aids to scholarship, the least he can do is to hire an able professional photographer to do the work for him. Bad photographs of works of art give the impression that the author had merely an antiquarian interest in them. In the present instance they not only fail to give adequate impression of the quality and significance of the sculpture, but do not measure up to the excellent typography and general make-up of the book. The value of the book as a compendium of descriptive bibliographical and critical information would have been further enhanced by the use of a larger number of small but clear photographs for general views, and proportionately larger ones for details revealing important plastic or iconographic motifs on the crosses. The higher cost which would follow this procedure could have been offset by a reduction of the unnecessary length of the book, occasioned by the almost invariably full quotation of each bibliographical reference under each monument in the catalogue.

Despite these shortcomings, and the brevity of the introductory summary of facts and theories, it is a most welcome addition to the limited group of important writings on early Christian art in Ireland. This field has not attracted as many first-class scholars as the larger and better preserved monuments of continental medieval Europe. But the inherent decorative charm of Anglo-Irish sculpture and its peculiarly provincial iconography contain elements of true folk art, and as such, it is nearer to the wellsprings of communal expression than the truly professional art of later medieval Europe for which the epithet is usually claimed.

DIMITRI TSELOS

One Hundred Influential American Books Printed before 1900. Catalogue and Addresses. Exhibition at The Grolier Club April Eighteenth-June Sixteenth MCMXLVI. [Seal] New York, The Grolier Club, 1947. 139 pp. Plates. 9½ x 6¼ inches. $15.00.

It is now forty-five years since The Grolier Club of the City of New York arranged an exhibition, *One Hundred Books Famous in English Literature*, selected by Henry W. Kent and other members of the Club. The influence of that exhibition on the rare-book world was marked and far-ranging. From April 18 to June 16, 1946, a companion or pendant exhibition was on display at the Club, where it was viewed by nearly a thousand visitors. Not that many persons will be able to own this record of *One Hundred Influential American Books Printed before 1900*, designed by Elmer Adler and printed at the press of A. Colish in New York, since it is limited to six hundred copies. That will distinctly be their loss, because, except for members of two specific audiences (of Grolier Club and of New York Library Club members), and people fortunate enough to have access to this catalogue, they will miss the lively and entertaining addresses by Frederick B. Adams, Jr., and John T. Winterich, here printed in full. Also included is a third valuable paper, on "America as Frontier," read by Dr. Thomas H. Johnson of the Lawrenceville School, New Jersey, at a club night held on May 16, 1946. The book is dignified and attractive in appearance, and the editorial and press work are impeccable.

The chronological catalogue of the exhibition follows the three papers, and extends from *The Whole Booke of Psalmes*, 1640 (*The Bay Psalm Book*) to Thorstein Veblen's *The Theory of the Leisure Class* (1899). The catalogue "makes no pretense of being a bibliography, although the notes in

some cases contain bibliographical data not yet to be found elsewhere," according to The Influential American Books Committee, which, besides Mr. Adams as Chairman, included Thomas W. Streeter and the late Carroll A. Wilson. It is not immediately apparent where this new information appears, or will eventually appear; perhaps the annotation of Holmes's *The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table* is a case in point.

The Committee was asked by the Council of the Club to "prepare an exhibition of American books that would arouse in all who saw it a feeling of pride in the accomplishment of our countrymen." Nine of the fourteen American books included in the 1902 exhibition were also chosen for this one, but emphasis was shifted from literary value to historical and sociological importance; to books that "influenced the life and culture of the American people." Choices were sufficiently catholic not to stop with Paine's *Common Sense*, the Declaration of Independence (broadside and first book-printing), Noah Webster's spelling book, and *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, but went on to include McGuffey's *Eclectic First Reader*, Arthur's *Ten Nights in a Bar-Room*, the first Montgomery Ward mail order catalogue, and *Mrs. Lincoln's Boston Cook Book*, from which, as Mr. Wilson (who wrote exactly half the annotations) punctiliously recorded, "*Fanny Farmer's Cook Book* is a direct outgrowth." (Mr. Winterich could not look unmoved at the copy of *Little Lord Fauntleroy*, "because it once determined the kind of clothes I wore"). The list, as Dr. Johnson remarks, compassed, "as the nation itself does, the great, the near great, and the trivial." The exhibition itself was as frequently moving as it was inspiring or amusing; few of the display cases attracted more interested examination than that which contained a copy of *Twice-Told Tales*, inscribed: "Miss Sophia A. Peabody, with affectionate regards from her friend, Nath. Hawthorne, 1838," which, according to Julian Hawthorne, was his father's engagement present. *Moby-Dick* was shown in a rare binding of interlaced strapwork; the English edition, *The Whale*, contained the author's presentation inscription to his brother-in-law, John C. Hoadley; and Mr. Wilson wrote that "no exhibit of this sort between 1875 and 1920 would have shown this, or any other, Melville book."

Of the other annotations, thirty-two were written by Mr. Streeter, including practically all the entries for the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and the remaining eighteen by Mr. Adams, among them notes on *Leaves of Grass*, *The Care and Feeding of Children*, and "Frank Forrester's" *The Warwick Woodlands*, which "popularized in America the British standards of sport for sport's sake."

The present reviewer, whose mail has increased to unwonted proportions since his name was printed in the membership list in the First Quarter PAPERS, has observed in several dealers' catalogues the note: "One of the Grolier Club's *Hundred Influential American Books*." Evidently the elect hundred are to enter still another avatar of influence.

EARLE F. WALBRIDGE

LORANT, STEFAN, *Editor. The New World: The First Pictures of America Made by John White and Jacques Le Moyne and Engraved by Theodore de Bry With Contemporary Narratives of the Huguenot Settlement in Florida 1562-1565 and the Virginia Colony 1585-1590.* Edited and Annotated by Stefan Lorant. New York, Duell, Sloan & Pearce [1946]. [6], 292 pp., illus. (some colored), maps, ports. 8⅞ x 12 inches. $20.00.

This is an important book and well worth the popularity it has already achieved, for it brings together for the first time in one attractively printed volume the earliest sixteenth-century pictures of life in North America, together with the contemporary narratives of the first Huguenot settlement in Florida and the first English settlement in what was then Virginia. All the material is well known to the specialist, and most of it has been frequently used and reprinted, but now it appears in one convenient volume with valuable notes, a good bibliography and index.

The most important hitherto unpublished feature of the volume is the collection of sixty-four colored plates from the original drawings of John White. They are reproduced in reduced size from the hand colored photographs in The William L. Clements Library, which were made from the originals in the British Museum. Though it would have been much better if they could have been reproduced from color photographs of the original drawings, these plates give us for the first time an adequate reproduction of the original drawings which are so much more accurate than the engravings of them, also here reproduced, from Hariot's *Virginia* of 1588.

The work also reprints Le Moyne's sketches of Indian life in Florida as engraved by Theodore de Bry in his *Grands Voyages*, part 2, 1591. These memory sketches made after the artist had returned to France, though of great value, are less accurate than the on-the-spot drawings of White. It is unfortunate that, with one exception, the original drawings of this series apparently have not survived to our day. The one remaining original, *The Natives of Florida Worship the Column Erected by the Commander on his First Voyage*, is here reproduced from the original in a private collection in

this country,—the earliest drawing of North American Indians to have come down to us. In addition to the drawings by Le Moyne and White, their maps and others from contemporary sources, there are fourteen portraits of some of the more important characters mentioned in the volume.

To supply an appropriate printed text to accompany the drawings, the editor has reprinted in English the narratives of Jacques Le Moyne of the Florida expedition of 1564, Nicolas le Challeux's Florida narrative of 1565, and the following accounts of the early days of the Virginia colony: Captain Arthur Barlowe's narrative of 1584, Ralph Lane's report of 1585-1586, an anonymous report of Sir Richard Grenville's voyage of 1586, John White's journal of 1587, his letter to Richard Hakluyt of 1593, his report of 1590 and Thomas Hariot's *A Brief and True Report of the New Found Land of Virginia*, 1588.

The two French narratives relating to Florida have been newly translated for this work in spite of the fact that there is a contemporary English version of the le Challeux narrative which would probably have more of the flavor of the original, and a modern English version of the le Moyne which might have been used. Our chief quarrel with the editor, however, is because of his tampering with the original English texts. In his foreword he says: "As the English narratives, with one exception, were not written by literary men, but by seacaptains and soldiers, I have thought it permissible to modernize their language . . . ." This Mr. Lorant has done with the aid of Mrs. Lucille Grigorieff, thus robbing us of the quaint and salty phraseology of the original narrators which would have added so much to the enjoyment of the reader.

This attractive volume is worthy of a place on any public or private library shelf, for it gives us a glimpse of America as first seen by Europeans, and at a fraction of the cost of the all but unobtainable original editions.

R. W. G. Vail

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The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America

VOLUME FORTY-ONE
FIRST QUARTER, 1947

"Salmagundi" and Its Publisher
JACOB BLANCK

Fletcher's "Milton": A First Appraisal
WILLIAM R. PARKER

Some Remarks on a Nineteenth-Century Reprint
CURT F. BÜHLER

Bibliographical Note

Book Reviews

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SECOND QUARTER, 1947

Mechanized Collation
CHARLTON HINMAN

Marketing a Best Seller: Mark Twain's "Innocents Abroad"
LEON T. DICKINSON

The Manuscript of Trollope's "The American Senator"
ROBERT H. TAYLOR

Bibliographical Notes

Book Reviews

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